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THE IMPERIAL COMMONWEALTH

THE IMPERIAL COMMONWEALTH

A Survey of Commercial, Industrial,
and Social History from the Tudor
Period to Recent Times

BY

A. P. POLEY,
B.A., F.R.C.I.,

Author of "The Federal Systems of the United States
and the British Empire," etc.

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THE IMPERIAL COMMONWEALTH

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY GROWTH OF INDUSTRIES

THE growth of the British Commonwealth has been a slow process politically, evolving from a sovereignty vested in a king to a sovereignty vested in a king and Parliament. Commercially it has expanded from a country of little activity to a country whose business operations rank among the foremost in the world.

Lord Bacon, writing of the City of London—and what he says of the City is applicable to the Commonwealth—remarks that Aristotle noteth well “that the nature of everything is best seen in its smallest portions and for that cause he enquireth of the nature of a Commonwealth first in the simple conjugations of man and wife, parent and child, master and servant, which are in every cottage, even so likewise the nature of this great city of the world and the policy thereof must be sought in mean concordances and small portions.” In this sense the growth of the Imperial Commonwealth is the story of the growth of the family and its connections; the human element runs through it, and may be perceived in the desires of the peoples to improve their spiritual and material condition.

The early industries of England were few, and these were mostly confined to the South-East and the West of the land; divided from the Continent by the sea, England had to rely on her natural resources for support. She possessed an equable climate, a land well wooded and watered, potteries, tin, iron, lead mines and coal, cattle and

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large flocks of sheep. Her coal and iron at first were of little importance, although they are now of the greatest; for many years her commerce with the Continent was mainly in the hands of foreigners, Germans of the Hanseatic League known as Easterlings, and Flemish and Belgian merchants called Westerlings. They resorted to her shores to sell cloth and a variety of commodities, some of which, such as spices, were exported from the East; in return they purchased raw material, lead, tin and hides, but principally wool. For long these foreign merchants were welcomed and obtained exceptional privileges; the great majority of them stayed forty days at a time, when, having discharged their business, they returned home with the profits of their venture.

The conquest of England by William I brought the Norman invaders, who became permanent settlers; in their train followed architects, builders, artists and weavers. They built cathedrals and churches, practised the fine arts and introduced the making of fabric. The close connection with Rome led to the coming of Italian ecclesiastics in whose retinue were many conversant with Italian trade. Flemings and others crossed the seas from Flanders and introduced their crafts. England, however, had no definite commercial policy till a later period. Many towns had charters and privileges which were not conducive to national policy. The progress of newly introduced industries was necessarily slow, and was often interrupted by civil commotions. The evolution of a system of law was only gradual.

The reign of Edward I saw the beginnings of constitutional and legal reform; the reign of Edward III witnessed the quickening of industry. The two movements proceeded, as might have been anticipated, in a directly logical order, the constitutional change preparing the way for the industrial, for before industry could explain its wants it required a medium by which to express them. It found this through a Parliament in which sat burgesses from the towns. As soon as industry made its wants heard it proceeded with no uncertain voice to determine a commercial policy for the country.

In the reign of Edward III a new word crept into the

PREFATORY NOTE

THE design of this work is to delineate the growth and features of the Imperial Commonwealth, describe the origin of the Empire, and the circumstances culminating in its establishment.

It was my good fortune to be shown the proofs; the perusal made manifest the breadth and spaciousness of view achieved by the author, yet successfully expressed in unusually compact sentences by reason of his desire to compress into one volume material that might easily have filled several. Hence the style has caught, perhaps inevitably, an affection for ellipsis, but has resulted in a book so packed with precise particulars as to be of large value to the student. It retains as well a vivid interest for the general reader who may desire, at his fireside, to contemplate the road along which, from the days of the first Tudor sovereign, the Imperial Commonwealth has travelled during centuries.

The Constitution evolved from the struggles and victories of our forefathers, as told by British history, leads us to hope that the words of de Lolme, "The philosopher, when he considers the constant fate of civil societies amongst men, and observes the numerous and powerful causes which seem, as it were unavoidably, to conduct them all to a state of incurable political slavery, will take comfort in seeing that Liberty has at length disclosed her secret to mankind and secured an asylum to herself," are in fact at length accomplished.

S. M. DE RHODÈS.

Inner Temple.

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recitals or preambles of Acts of Parliament. The Parliamentary draftsman or the Clerk to the Parliament expressed that a statute was made for the benefit of the people. No doubt these preambles were based on wordings of petitions presented to the House of Commons from the Commonalty. Thus a statute of 14 Edw. III recited its enactment for the peace and quietness of the people. By the time of Richard II statutes were passed for the common profit of the realm, for the quietness and tranquillity of the people. In the reign of Henry IV the phrasing purported to nourish the unity, peace and concord of all parties within the realm. Late in the reign of Henry VI statutes were passed for the weal of the people and the common profit of all the realm. With the coming of the Tudors the expression Commonwealth definitely made its appearance. The Commonwealth and the public weal became synonymous terms, and lastly the country adopted the Commonwealth as a title to express that it existed for all the people.

Commercial policy, it has already been stated, was directed to meet the desire of the people to improve their conditions. The early door to prosperity lay through wool. During the reigns of the three Edwards the Englishman sold wool to the foreign merchant and received cloth in exchange. The wool, carried across Channel, was manufactured into cloth at towns such as Bruges, Ypres and Poperinghe. With the growth of population it was found that the rearing of sheep was not an occupation which afforded employment in sufficient ratio to the increase. Nobles and abbots grew rich from the profits of its sale, but few shepherds were needed to tend great flocks of sheep. Many factors now united to determine the country to establish new industries and to enlarge and improve existing ones. It was computed that the Englishman sold his wool and saw it returned to him in the manufactured article at seven times the price at which he had sold it. With improvements constantly introduced in manufacturing munitions many new industries became essential as means of defence. King, Parliament and people now began by a series of protective measures, some tentative in character, many subsequently repealed, to establish an industrial system.

During this transitory period England was generally, but not always, self-supporting in the matter of foodstuff, but her wine was poor and it was found desirable to supplement it from the vintages of France. Some tendency was exhibited towards a free trade system in the reign of Edward III when the Kingship of England and the Duchy of Guienne were vested in one sovereign, and when excellent trade relationships existed with Brabant and Flanders.

Underlying the dynastic reasons which led to wars between France and England there were also substantial commercial causes. The King of France was seeking the unity of France, but found great obstacles in the existence of such powerful fiefs as Guienne and Flanders. Edward III had similar aims; his wars in Wales and against Scotland were attempts to unite Great Britain. The conquest of Flanders by France seemed not improbable, but it would have endangered the Flemish manufacturing interests and interfered with their export of English wool. France was always willing to assist Scotland in her struggles with England so as to weaken a formidable opponent. It might have been thought by Edward III that the trade interests of Guienne as an exporter of wine would have drawn her so closely to England as to render a commercial federation between England, France and Guienne possible. Such a federation would have proved a barrier to the further expansion of France. During the greater portion of the reign of Edward III Canon Cunningham traces the working of this idea which loomed through the battle lust of Crécy and Poitiers but faded with the failure of the Black Prince's administration in the South of France. With this exception the commercial policy of England was wholly Protectionist in character, and remained so till nearly the first half of last century.

During the reigns of the Lancastrians and Yorkists commercial policy was directed to keeping foreign merchants strictly to their business of selling merchandise they imported by wholesale, not allowing them to become retailers. When, however, privileges based upon ancient charters were claimed by towns to purchase off foreign merchants wine and foodstuffs in order to enhance prices unduly on their

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way to the consumer, the prohibition against retailing was withdrawn. Restrictions on the sale of wool were directed to ensure a sale at the highest price by offering it to foreign merchants through certain defined markets in staple towns where competition would be likely to increase prices. Its disposal, however, through special markets was also a revenue measure to enable the customs to be more easily collected. There was nothing in the principles on which commercial policy was then based which differed from those pursued by a business man of the present day; of buying in the lowest and selling in the highest market. The institution of staple towns afforded him the opportunity required. By selling wool at the highest price and by the restrictions on the sale of imports, especially on rich articles of dress such as furs, probably brought by German merchants from their factory at Nijni Novgorod, and by sumptuary laws, it was sought to secure a favourable balance of trade and increase the capital of the country. The success of this policy was undeniable, for without an increase in the spending power of the people there would have been no means to purchase imported furs and the commodities of Italian towns.

From the time of Richard II legislation proceeded generally at the instance of the producers. It was often, however, regulated to meet the needs of the consumers, and honesty in manufacturing was required. A statute of Henry VI in 1442 is an instance of such legislation. Its preamble says that whereas worsted was somewhat a good merchandise and greatly desired and loved in the parts beyond the sea, now, because that it is of false work and false stuff, no man thereof taketh regard, which is a great danger to the King's customs. Worsted was a Norfolk industry: it was directed that four wardens of Norwich and two from the county should be selected from worsted weavers to regulate its manufacture. Another statute illustrates an attempt to combine the interests of the corn growers with those of the consumers. The export of corn had been prohibited. It was now allowed when the price of wheat did not exceed 6s. 8d. a quarter and barley 3s. 4d. As abundance of corn glutted markets, lowered prices and impoverished the growers, the interests of the consumers were compelled to

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yield to those of the producers. By the time of Edward IV, so strong had the cloth industry grown, that English cloth began to dominate the markets of Flanders. The Duke of Burgundy then prohibited its entry into his dominion, but Parliament replied: If wool and cloth manufactured in England be prohibited in Brabant, Holland and Zeeland, then no merchandise close growing or wrought therein within the dominion of the Duke of Burgundy shall come into England upon pain of forfeiture. This commercial war was ended by the marriage of Edward IV's sister, Margaret, with the Duke of Burgundy, when better trade relations were developed.

A staple town for the interchange of commodities between England and the Continent was fixed in the time of Edward III at Calais. During the reign of Edward IV the export of wools, fells, or tins, was prohibited except through Calais; the loss of Calais in the reign of Queen Mary was a great blow to England.

With reference to alien trading, it may be noticed that alien merchants who resorted to England were forbidden to export gold and silver from the realm under pain of forfeiture, but were ordered to expend it in making purchases in the country. As wool became more in demand for home manufacture, in 1463 aliens were forbidden to export wool. When Protection was required to establish a struggling industry, it was granted. Thus, when the silk women and spinners complained of the introduction of wrought-silk ribbons, girdles and other articles which destroyed their industry, their complaint was redressed by the prohibition of competing imports.

In 1533 a statute was passed dealing with the bookbinders. It recited that printed books not only in Latin but in English were brought into the country, some bound in boards, some in leather and some in parchment, and sold by retail, "whereby many of the King's subjects being binders of books and having no other faculty whereby to get their living, be destitute of work and like to be undone except some reparation herein be had." The import of ready-bound books was prohibited. Lest the consumer should suffer by printers or sellers raising the prices of printed books on sale or binding to high and unreasonable

prices, the King's great officers were empowered to inquire thereof as well with the oaths of twelve honest and discreet persons or otherwise by their direction. When printing was introduced into England by William Caxton all books from abroad, by a statute of Richard III, 1483, were admitted free. From 1474 to 1491 Caxton worked as a printer at Westminster, and he, his successor Wynkyn de Worde and others laid the foundation of the great book industry. But as the free importation of books had led to the introduction of a marvellous number from the Continent, the reason for a change of policy was explained. In 1483 there were few books and few printers, but in 1533 there were "a great number cunning and expert in the science or craft of printing, as able to exercise the said craft in all points as any stranger in any other country."

In all this protective legislation there were several factors present, but the principle was the desire to find more employment for the people, and there is little doubt that the creation and building up of new industries effected this purpose. For what would have been the condition of England if she had been content to exist on her agricultural resources and the sale of her raw materials, with but small occupation for her people and little opportunity to improve their material comfort or intellectual equipment? Surrounded by powerful neighbours, without the means to support herself against attack, she would have inevitably become a mere dependant, a Cinderella amongst nations. Adam Smith, in his inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, does not discuss the measures which built up the early industries of the country; the reason for his silence is not clear, for by the close of Elizabeth's reign England had attained a first-class position in the European family by reason of her wealth. Other political economists have been contented to dismiss the period as unworthy of consideration, as mediæval and barbarous, the suggestion being that by the adoption of some other system England would have earlier attained prosperity, but how it is difficult to ascertain. The history of Mediæval England showed that restraints upon the importation of foreign goods did increase the general industry. It is noticeable, however, that the policy of Mediæval

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England was to encourage new industries by State aid, but not thus to found them; it did not subsidize Flemish weavers to settle in England, but, on their arrival, ensured them a welcome; it did not introduce printing in Westminster, but left its introduction to the ingenuity and public spirit of Caxton; it did interfere after the printing industry had established itself, when its future progress was endangered by foreign competition, on the ground that skilled workers should not be thrown out of employment by the cessation of the craft they lived by. The loss of productive labour was deemed a general loss to the community.

The success of England's weaving industry enabled England ultimately to sell her cloth throughout the world; its success was due in the first instance to the control of the necessary raw material; before the Black Death she was practically the only country which exported wool; afterwards, probably from the dearth of labour, sheep-rearing extended to Spain, whence Italy and Venice drew their supplies for manufacturing. Flanders, notwithstanding her trained craftsmen, from her inability to obtain cheap raw material, ultimately saw her cloth-making industry wrested from her and engaged in a hopeless struggle to exclude English cloth from her markets. The Mediæval period is noticeable for the fact that the rates of wages were fixed by legislation; the Mediæval conception being that a man should be paid a fair remuneration for his work. This was probably due to the teachings of the Church, which looked to the welfare of the worker rather than to the goods he made.

CHAPTER II

THE GROWTH OF NATIONALITY

CONCURRENTLY with a growing commercial system, a sense of nationality was developing which, perhaps, was due to the insular position of the country and the policy of the great Plantagenet Kings, Edward I and III. In the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV England had acquired a considerable political freedom. Her system of Common Law and her language were then assuming shape and form. But the progress she made received a rapid set-back from the Wars of the Roses, when the sense of country was lost in faction; counties, even families, being divided, father against son, brother against brother. The Englishman, however, was free. Even torture was unknown till the time of Henry VI, when it was first sought to be employed in the Tower by the Dukes of Exeter and Suffolk.

On the accession of Henry VII a strong Government was required. Henry had small title to the crown, except as acquired by conquest, but he obtained a Parliamentary title, and by his subsequent marriage with Elizabeth united the Houses of Lancaster and York. As English nationality developed, similarly it developed in France and Spain. By the policy of Louis XI France was strengthened. By the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile and the conquest of Grenada Spain became unified. The three monarchs were named by Lord Bacon "the Three Magi." Nationality, however, is generally dated from the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII.

For some time after the break up of the Roman Empire the Papacy supplied its place as guardian of the peace, but the potency of its spiritual weapons, the interdict and excommunication, depended upon acceptance without question of the fiats of the successors of St. Peter. Even ecclesiastical statesmen in England ceased to believe in them as

a means of assuring peace, and one of Henry VII's bishops, Foxe, was responsible for the saying, "the surest way to peace is a constant preparedness for war." Sir Thomas More, who had been a page at the court of Archbishop Morton, another of Henry VII's great Ministers, subsequently, in the pages of "Utopia," expressed his disbelief in leagues of nations, believing peace was ultimately to be found in the general spread of ideas of goodwill amongst all men. The doctrine of the balance of power was universally accepted. The policy of Henry VII was turned, as Lord Bacon observed, from considerations of plenty to those of power.

To preserve an island state, treasure and shipping were necessary. Henry accumulated the former and increased the latter, for he dearly loved gold and could not endure to have trade sick. During the reigns of his immediate predecessors the question of security was present to the mind of Parliament, when two statutes were passed; the first which insisted that four bowstaves should be brought into the country with every ton of goods; the second that ten bowstaves should accompany every butt of wine. Lord Bacon refers to the policy of Henry in fostering a virile race by making farms and housing and husbandry of a standard that is maintained with such a proportion of land with them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty and no servile condition, and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners and not mere hirelings. One reason, says Lord Bacon, was the King's desire to have a sturdy race, especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army, and for this reason he considered the King's policy was profound and admirable. By laws against the keeping of retainers Henry diminished the power of the nobility. So long as they kept a number of idle retainers the nobility were ready to embark in rebellions and substitute the greater might for the greater right. The keeping of retainers, however, had other injurious consequences. By withdrawing men who might have been engaged in production from works of industry it lowered the productive capacity of the country.

Many things had happened in Europe. The most im-

portant was the effect of the discovery of America. Amidst peans of triumph the Moorish dominion of Grenada fell. The tide of invasion which at one period threatened to submerge France, sighed, sobbed, and in one piteous lamentation ebbed from the shores of Spain for ever. In the flush of triumph, Isabella, seated in the conquered palace of the Alhambra, listened to the pleading of a Genoese mariner striving to teach a new geography to an unbelieving Europe. Christopher Columbus, on bended knees, successfully petitioned for some stout ships to sail westward to the Indies. Spain was rewarded with the gift of a new world. If Isabella had not consented it might have been otherwise, for Columbus had sent his brother Bartholomew to ask the assistance of Henry VII. But, robbed by pirates on his way, Bartholomew had not the necessary means to present himself at court. When he did the King readily consented. Columbus had then started, and not many months after Europe rang with the story of the strange regions he had discovered.

England, however, was not altogether idle in maritime enterprise. On July 15, 1480, a Welshman named Lloyd, with two ships of 80 tons burthen, owned by a Bristol merchant named John Jay, sailed from the West coast of Ireland to discover the supposed island of Brazil, but Atlantic storms drove his vessels back. In 1494 an expedition from Bristol discovered the mainland of America on Midsummer day. The land sighted was called Prima Vista, the island opposite St. John's. In 1496 Henry VII gave his support to an expedition fitted out by John Cabot, a Venetian subject living at Bristol. Cabot received a licence to fit out five ships at his own expense, and for reward a strict trading monopoly. He was directed to sail to lands hitherto unknown to Christians. Starting in a single ship called the *Matthew*, Cabot eventually reported the discovery of a new territory he believed to be the country of the Grand Cham. Great honour was accorded him; money was given him by the King; he dressed himself in silk and was run after by the people, so that he could have enlisted as many of them as he pleased in his adventures. Two years later a patent for colonization was granted him. But his death

probably took place before his expedition started, which was entrusted to Sebastian Cabot, who discovered Newfoundland. No fresh enterprise was ventured on, for the King was too careful to spend money where profitable returns appeared doubtful. Soon after 1500 Cabot took service in Spain.

Henry strengthened the country by his matrimonial alliances. He did not do this at first in his own case, relying upon his personal position, but he found marriage was indispensable to his safety, for the people were not readily reconciled to his claims. Rebellions broke out. Injustice was believed to have been perpetrated. The story of the murdered princes in the Tower was disbelieved. They were said to be alive. Pretenders arose who personated them, and Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck found assistance in Scotland, Ireland, France and Burgundy. Henry gravitated to an alliance with Spain. Ultimately he joined forces with her in attacking Charles VIII of France, who was reducing Brittany. Charles's marriage with Anne of Brittany ended the war. Henry gained money both ways; from the people to pay for it and from Charles to discontinue it. The marriage of his daughter Margaret with James IV secured the friendship of Scotland, and the betrothal of his son Arthur with Catherine of Aragon, and after his death her marriage with his son Henry, cemented the Spanish alliance.

The English people at this time were restless, turbulent and not easily governed. They loved freedom, they hated unfairness and injustice. They possessed a keen desire for fair play and were strongly individualistic in character. Their love of humour they often displayed in rough jests. Humour was exhibited by monks in their carvings—many of these were caricatures—of unpopular abbots and Church dignitaries in the cathedrals, abbeys and churches. Humour accompanied the pilgrims on the way to Canterbury.

An early Reformation had broken out in England in the fourteenth century, when John Wycliffe, Warden of Balliol, about 1371 began to preach Lollardism. His teaching spread like a prairie fire over the land. Through his Bible the Scriptures were understood. Thousands joined the move-

ment, and it found support in the highest quarters. From England it reached Bohemia, where John Huss and Jerome of Prague were profoundly influenced. The causes were the vices and greediness of priests, scandals of Simony, sale of indulgences, false miracles, the cultivation of images, especially those of the Virgin and saints, and the pomp, luxury and ostentation of the Church. Notwithstanding the power of Rome Wycliffe died unmolested at Lutterworth in Leicestershire, but by order of the Bishop of Lincoln, on the request of the Pope, his remains were disinterred. A different fate befell John Huss, who, relying on a safe conduct to Constance given him by the Emperor Sigismund of Germany, was burnt alive, his ashes cast into the River Rhine. A bloody war followed in Bohemia. The works of Huss were not published at Strasburg till 1515. Finding their way into the hands of Martin Luther they influenced him. In a Bohemian Psalter of 1572 appears a symbolical picture of Wycliffe striking the spark, Huss kindling the coals, and Luther brandishing the lighted torch.

The death of Wycliffe did not end Lollardism. The movement continued and statutes were passed to punish heresy by burning. During its operation continuous demands for social reform were raised and revolts against ecclesiastical authority were accompanied by corresponding attacks on political authority. The movement apparently died when Sir John Oldcastle, its leader, who had formed a conspiracy to seize the person of Henry V, was executed, but some followers existed in towns such as Colchester and Agmondesham (Amersham), where they met in secret societies of poor men, who read the Gospels and Wycliffe's "Wicket" by night. These, however, numbered thousands, for the Bishop of London, on writing to Erasmus as to the effect of Lutheranism in England, said: "It is no question of a pernicious novelty; it is only that new arms are being added to the great band of Wycliffites."

The constant exactions of Henry rendered him unpopular. When he died at his palace at Richmond of consumption he left few mourners behind, but an England undoubtedly stronger.

Henry VIII was eighteen when he came to the throne.

Edward Herbert, first Baron of Cherbury, who wrote his life—a book not published till after Herbert's death in 1649—relates how a great debate took place at the Privy Council soon after the King's accession, when the most learned statesmen of the land met: Should Henry revive his claims to the French Crown or should he seek the interest of the country overseas? There is reason to believe that the arguments which Lord Herbert puts into the mouths of those of the Council who were opposed to a Continental war were substantially accurate. "Let us, in God's name," said one spokesman of the new policy, "leave off our attempts against the Terra Firma. The natural situation of islands seems not to sort into conquest by that kind. England alone is a just Empire. When we enlarge ourselves let it be that way we can and to which it seems the Eternal Providence hath destined us, which is by sea. The Indies are discovered and vast treasure brought from thence every day. Let us therefore bend our endeavours thitherward, and if the Spaniards or Portuguese suffer us not to join with them there will yet be region enough for all to enjoy." Henry did not accept this advice. The glory of a war with France allured him. He began to squander the great treasure his father left him. So large was this that Henry VII was probably the richest man in Europe. The foreign policy of the country gradually underwent a change from the Spanish to the French alliance. The policy of a balance of power on the Continent became the settled policy of English statesmen. On the accession of Cardinal Wolsey to the Chancellorship the country assumed a new position. She became arbiter of the destinies of Europe. The Commonwealth was to be a centre for the dissemination of learning. Wolsey's views were reflected in his magnificent educational schemes. Shakespeare refers to them with admiration:

"Ever witness for him
Those twins of learning, that he raised in you,
Ipswich, and Oxford! one of which fell with him,
Unwilling to outlive the good that did it;
The other, though unfinished, yet so famous,
So excellent in art, and still so rising,
That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue."

(*Hen. VIII, Act IV, sc. 2.*)

What dreams did the great Chancellor dream when he wandered a student by the banks of the Cherwell amidst the cloistered solemnity of Magdalen College what time its tower was building. His dreams were no mean conception.

While these reachings out were being made toward the realm of thought, the voice of the mercantile community was continually being raised for new markets. It sounded from Bristol, then from the City of London, but there were grave difficulties in the way. In 1492, before Columbus started his momentous voyage, Portugal had raised an objection to it based upon the authority of a Papal bull. In 1484, according to Robert Thorne, a merchant of London, whose father, with Hugh Eliot of Bristol, had assisted in Cabot's expedition, the King of Portugal fitted out caravels to discover the land of spices and invited other princes of Europe to join him. When they refused he asked the Pope to decide if all he discovered should not belong to him. "The Pope said," not as Christ said, remarks Thorne, "'Who made me a judge over you?' but decreed that all that should be discovered from Orient to Occident should be the King of Portugal's whether discovered by the Portuguese or not. So the King of Portugal armed a fleet and discovered the island of Calicut, from whence is brought the spices."

When Portugal objected to the voyage of Columbus the land was full of Jews who had escaped from Spain with their gold and precious stones on account of persecution. To Portugal's objections Ferdinand answered that there was an agreement that neither kingdom should harbour the other's subjects. Portugal had broken it, but if she was prepared to pay a million of gold Spain would abide by the Papal bull, otherwise she would not. As Portugal declined, the Pope subsequently divided the Eastern and Western world between the two kingdoms. Thorne sent a chart or marked card which showed the division, Brazil in the West was given to Portugal.

As a result Spain claimed the whole of America except Brazil. In 1517 an English ship reached Brazil and sailed thence to the Island of Hispaniola. Its captain advised the authorities he had brought with him merchandise to sell. But by order of the governor of the castle his vessel was

fired on and he sailed away. A Spanish writer described the vessel as an English rover, but Hakluyt writes: "Though it pleased him to call this great ship a rover, yet it appeared by the Englishman's own words that they came to discover and traffic in pewter vessels and other wares. It could not be denied but that they were furnished with wares for honest traffic in exchange: 'but whosoever is conversant in reading the Portuguese and Spanish writers of the East and West Indies shall commonly find that they account all other nations for pirates, rovers and thieves which visit any heathen coast that they at once sailed by or looked on, howbeit their passionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to be prejudicial to other men's chargeable and painful enterprises and honourable travels or discovery.' "

It was not till after the fall of Cardinal Wolsey that any attempt was made to seek discovery in the West. In 1536 Hore, who is stated to have been a man of goodly stature, great courage and given to the study of cosmography, suggested a voyage to America. He argued so well in favour of his plan that many gentlemen of the Inns of Court and of Chancery and divers others of good worship desirous to see the strange things of the world, very willingly entered into action with him. One of the principal voyagers was Armigal Wade, a very learned gentleman, afterwards Clerk of the Council of Henry VIII, whose son, William Wade, when Hakluyt wrote, was Clerk to the Privy Council. Father and son were barristers of the Middle Temple. As a result of this expedition the Newfoundland fisheries were established. In 1549 they were protected against abuses. By the end of the century two thousand fishermen and others were employed on this new industry.

At the beginning of the reign government was carried on by great ecclesiastics. After Wolsey's fall the Crown began to choose administrators from the law. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, speaking of Henry VIII's first Council, says: "I find it strange that amongst them was not so much as one that I may call stiled from the Common Law which though I cannot commend (wisdom evermore beginning at home) yet I doubt it was so tempered as when any difficulty arose the Counsel learned in the law were sent for. However it seems

that the King kept them at a distance towards the beginning of his reign, though towards the middle and latter end I find some men (through their great abilities) received into the body of the Council yet so as the King was noted not to admit reason of law everywhere for reason of State therefore he used to take their advice obliquely and no otherwise than to discern how safe his own designs were and so with less danger to vary from them which yet he would so regulate as his actions at home had still if not their ground yet at least their pretext from the Common Law."

The Common Law was popular. As that which had been in force, in theory at least, from time immemorial throughout England except so far as excluded by local customs, it was an unwritten law, but the decisions of judges had been reported and handed down from generation to generation, and formed precedents for guidance. It showed no fear or favour to any person, but claimed to hold the scales of justice equally between man and man. Generally it opposed customs as breakers of uniformity and as leaving men uncertain as to the laws they lived under, but it had crystallized in legal maxims from which the judges felt themselves unable to depart. The Court of Chancery newly introduced doctrines alleviating this strictness by subordinating strict law to the principles of equity. Equity partly was based on the Civil Law or Roman Law.

Education was carried on almost entirely by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, although a number of schools existed. Some of the colleges of the Universities dated from the thirteenth century, although far greater antiquity is rightly claimed. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries collegiate foundations increased and numerous halls or hostels for the accommodation of scholars were built. Lectures were free, the majority of the scholars being very poor. On leaving the Universities the qualified scholars passed into the ranks of the Church and became abbots, priors, rectors, vicars, monks and friars. Some, very learned or fortunate, obtained higher dignities, others took service under the Crown or followed the profession of the Law. The Universities were great means for disseminating thought, and recognizing this, kings, queens, bishops

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and pious lords and ladies gladly founded new colleges and endowed them. The language universally taught was Latin, which was then the sole passport to learning. After the fall of Constantinople a knowledge of ancient Greek was gradually diffused through Western Europe. In England the new learning, as it was called, was received with unbounded enthusiasm. Christ Church and Corpus Christi at Oxford and Trinity at Cambridge were founded to introduce it to the Universities, and at Corpus Christi the first public lectures in Greek were given. Whilst Oxford and Cambridge spread learning through England similar educational centres diffused it over the Continent. Of these Paris, amongst those of France, claimed the greatest antiquity. Spain and Italy had also many Universities. Padua, famous for all time for its illustrious scholars Dante, Petrarch and Tasso, was also renowned for its teaching of the Civil Law. Not only did it confer its doctor's degree upon men but on women also, and the women doctors were numerous.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries had witnessed the rise of Universities in four countries—England, France, Italy and Spain. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw their foundation in Bohemia, Germany and elsewhere. In 1409 Leipzig was founded.

Two main currents of thought which ultimately dominated the sixteenth century are now distinctly traceable. Both found expression through the Universities. One, the Renaissance, the other the Reformation. For ages Europe had slumbered spellbound by traditions of the Roman civilization as representing the high-water marks of thought; but the discovery of a civilization which was more ancient and of a beautiful literature rich in form and colour, and replete with philosophy and breathing freedom, came as a surprise may come to one who, crossing a mountain pass, by the sudden uplifting of the mist, beholds a lovely valley beneath him. Knowledge of Greek was the open sesame to the hidden treasures of this buried civilization.

To a great scholar, Erasmus—born at Amsterdam, and discovered at Paris by Lord Mountjoy, who made him his tutor and friend—England was indebted for the Greek learn-

ing. Erasmus studied and taught at several Universities. He was a Doctor of Arts of Bologna. By 1509 he was already so famous that when he was introduced to Sir Thomas More without his name being mentioned, More exclaimed, after conversing with him, "You must be either Erasmus or the devil." Greek was not only introduced into England by him but to the Low Countries and Germany. As a literary thinker his gifts were many and his style was popular—evidenced by the fact that twenty-four thousand copies of his "Colloquies," written in Latin and published in 1522, were sold in Europe. He was to humanity what Luther was to religion, but his protest was levelled against asceticism, with its consequential neglect of learning which was the key to knowledge. Whilst the Renaissance began to subvert the assumed perfection of the Roman civilization, Martin Luther directly challenged the authority of the Church of Rome. The open sale of indulgences or pardons for sins at a recognized tariff, and promptings to commit crime for the sake of the money paid for indulgences or pardons, roused in him a red-hot fire of wrath. In 1510, when he visited Rome, he witnessed its corruption. At a distance its religious tapestry had seemed so beautiful, but closely inspected it was nothing but bare threads. Money subscribed for a crusade against the Turks was spent on the building of St. Peter's. Bishops he denounced as devouring wolves; monks as whited sepulchres; Rome was ancient Babylon. With the University of Wittenberg and the Elector of Saxony on his side Luther made a fervid appeal to Germany and Christendom for reform. Henry VIII entered the lists against him with a treatise which gained him the title of Defender of the Faith. The Reformation in Germany soon profoundly affected Europe, but as a creed Lutheranism did not much affect England.

A reform movement also began in Switzerland, preached by Zwingli in 1517. In 1523 Mass was abolished at Zurich and the practices of the Primitive Church restored. This reform was accompanied by a repudiation of the authority of the House of Savoy. Calvin, a Frenchman, a teacher in Paris, who had deserted law for theology, went to Geneva and took part in this movement. To overthrow one religion

and substitute another is no easy task. So Calvin found at Geneva. A party who were called Libertines arose who considered they could do what they liked in religion. Calvin for a time was compelled to retire to Berne. On his recall in 1545 he organized a church with ecclesiastical ordinances and a hierarchy of pastors, doctors, ancients and deacons and a consistory. Missionary churches were built at Geneva for the nationalities of Europe, for Spain, Italy, England, Scotland and Flanders. Through them Calvinism spread to England and Scotland. Calvinism as a creed was essentially democratic in character. It was simple, it completely suppressed ceremonies, and was an absolute negation of tradition. It taught the doctrine of predestination and the observance of only two sacraments—those of baptism and the Holy Communion.

Hitherto Church and State, though at times in conflict, were generally allied; the Church of Rome being the international and spiritual force, and the states of Europe the national and material forces. So long as the Church influenced the masses the states followed, gladly recognizing in it their prop and support. To dismiss religion seemed unthinkable, for without it a state had no moral basis. Every religious revolt was therefore in a sense political so far as it threatened the moral foundations of government. When Lollardism threatened monarchy the civil authority suppressed it. Charles V felt bound to adopt a similar course toward Lutheranism by putting it under the ban of the Empire. Only two courses were open to a state: (1) to adhere to the Roman Catholic Church, or (2) to create a national church in its place. The ultimate adoption of the second alternative in England brought a further question to the front as to the nature of this national church.

In the latter half of the fifteenth century printing, which Caxton introduced from the Continent, rapidly disseminated religious ideas. Lecturers and readers had addressed limited audiences, but books now made a universal appeal. The desire to read and write led to the multiplication of schools. Public schools such as St. Paul's were founded and a great educational movement commenced.

Social questions came to the fore, the most important being the land question. England was poorly cultivated. North of the Humber population was scanty and thousands of acres were still undrained. Oxford was even difficult of approach by reason of the waters. Close to London, Wapping was marshland. Arable land had been abandoned for pasture over which flocks of twenty to thirty thousand sheep grazed. Their owners were the great sheep kings of England, such as Jack of Newbury. Sir Thomas More, who, when a page at the court of Archbishop Morton, had often listened to discussions on this topic, gives a vivid account of the position of affairs in the pages of "Utopia." He says: "Your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be become so great devowerers and so wylde, that they eate up, and swallow downe the very men them selves. They consume, destroye, and devoure whole fieldes, howses, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest, and therfore dearest woll, there noblemen, and gentlemen; yea and certeyn Abbottes holy men no doubt, not contenting them selves with the yearely revenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nor beyng content that they live in rest and pleasure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique: leave no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures; thei throw doune houses; they plucke downe townes, and leave nothing standynge, but only the church to be made a shepe-howse. And as thoughe you loste no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chases, laundes, and parkes, those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into desolation and wilderness. Therefore that on covetous and unsatiable cormaraunte and very plague of his natyve contrey maye compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers of grounde together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els either by coveyne and fraude, or by violent oppression they be put besydes it or by wronges and injuries thei be so wried, that they be compelled to sell all; by one meanes therfore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muste needes departe awaye, poore, silie, wretched soules, men, women, husbands,

wives, fatherless children, widowes, wofull mothers, with their younge babes, and their whole houshold smal in substance, and muche in numbere, as husbandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I say, out of their knowen and accustomed houses, fyndyng no place to reste in. All their household stuffe, whiche is verye litle woorth, thoughte it myght well abide the sale; yet beeynge sodainely thruste oute, they be constrayned to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered abroad tyll that be spent, what can they then els doo but steale, and then justly pardy be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prison as vagaboundes, because they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl set a worke, though thei never so willyngly profre themselves therto. For one Shephearde or Heardman is ynoughe to eate up that ground with cattel, to the occupyng whereof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yes, besides this the price of wolles is so rysen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be forced to forsake worke and to geve them selves to idelnesse. For after that so much ground was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe dyed of the rotte, suche vengeance God toke of their inordinate and unsaciabie covetousness, sendinge amonge the shepe that pestiferous morrein, which much more justely shoulde have fallen on the shepemaisters owne heades. And though the number of shepe increase never so faste, yet the price falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe sellers. For they be almooste all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to sell before they lust, and they luste not before they maye sell as deare as they luste."

More suggested a remedy: "Suffer not these riche men to bie up al, to ingrosse, and forstalle, and with their monopolie to kepe the market alone as please them. Let not so many be brought up in idelnes, let husbandry and tillage be restored, let clothworkinge be renewed, that ther may be honest labours for this idell sort to passe their tyme in profitablye, which hitherto either povertie hath caused to be theves, or

elles nowe be either vagabondes, or idel serving men, and shortelye wil be theves."

The reforms planned by More included provision for the aged and poor and religious toleration, but only in Utopia. The Utopians, the people from nowhere, although they disliked glory, practised and exercised themselves in arms, but never went to war but in defence of their own country or to drive enemies out of the country of their friends which had been invaded, or to deliver from the yoke or bondage or tyranny an oppressed people. They made no man fight against his will except in defence of his own country, but they put strong-bodied cowards in ships among bold-hearted men or placed them on the walls from which they could not fly. More disliked cruelty, and argued strongly against coursing. The feeling was manifested in the works of Shakespeare. "What greater pleasure," says More, "is there to be felt when a dog followeth an hare than when a dog followeth a dog; the one thing is done in both, that is to say, running, if thou hast pleasure therein, but if the hope of slaughter and the expectation of leaving in pieces the beast doth please thee thou shouldest rather be moved with pity to see an innocent hare murdered by a dog. The weak of the stronger, the fearful of the fierce, the innocent of the cruel and unmerciful."

More was far from being a Socialist. His programme may have been suggested as an answer to Socialism. In his dialogue of "Comfort," written in 1534, when a prisoner in the Tower, he says: "For this I think in my mind a very sure conclusion that if all the money that is in this country were brought together out of every man's hand and laid all upon one heap and then divided out unto every man alike it would be on the morrow after worse than it was the day before for I suppose when it was all equally among all the best should be left a little better than almost a beggar is now. . . . Surely the rich man's substance is the well-spring of the poor man's living and therefore here would it fare by the poor man as it fared by the woman in one of Æsop's fables which had a hen that laid her every day a golden egg till on a day she thought she would have a great many eggs at once and therefore she killed her hen and found

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but one or two in her belly so that for a few she lost many."

The wool combination was broken by an Act of 1533, the preamble of which curiously recalls the passage just quoted from More's "Utopia." Farms had been purchased by great sheep owners, and towns and churches pulled down. The resulting evils were enhanced rents and prices nearly doubled for corn, cattle, wool, pigs, poultry and eggs, a sheep, formerly sold at 2s. 4d. or 3s. at the most, realized from 5s. to 6s., and a stone of clothing wool which had fetched in some shires eighteen to twenty pence, realized from 3s. 4d. to 4s. As manufacturers were unable to purchase cheap wool their businesses languished. By this Act 2,000 sheep were fixed as the limit of a sheep owner's holding, but there were some exceptions. Special legislation dealt with certain counties such as Berkshire, where the great sheep king Jack of Newbury had flourished, and proclamations were issued to fix food prices. The continual disbandment of soldiers, with lack of employment and the absence of industries, led to vagrancy and stealing. Thousands were executed, but notwithstanding the death sentence crime did not cease.

The Church had claimed to throw her shielding arm over criminals. Parish churches, churchyards and cemeteries, in addition to holy places, were then sanctuaries. Once a criminal reached a sanctuary he had a space of forty days allowed him to confess his crime before the Coroner, the King's Officer. On doing so he was allowed to leave the realm. After 1536 the law was changed. A criminal was allowed to abjure but not to leave the realm. He was despatched to a sanctuary where not more than twenty men resided, where he was compelled to stay for the rest of his life. The right of sanctuary was taken away in cases of murder, felony, and some other crimes. This change, however, did not take place till Henry's policy towards the Church of Rome was altered. General conditions became profoundly altered by the influx of silver into Europe from America; hitherto the precious metals were scarce, but the voyages of Columbus and his successors opened up new supplies and means of exchange multiplied. An increased demand for

wool set in and higher prices were paid on the Continent by the Flemish manufacturers. The working of the silver mines by Indians and the consequent destruction of the race prepared the way for negro slavery.

In 1499 Americus Vespuccius, who was a Venetian employed in the service of Spain, on a voyage Westward sailed into a vast deep gulf on the eastern side of which was a village. Struck by its resemblance to his native Venice he called it *Venezuela*, or Little Venice. On a later voyage he explored two provinces which were called after him *Americus*. The name was afterwards applied to the whole continent. In the early years of the sixteenth century More tells us that four of his voyages were in print in every man's hands. The discovery of the American Continent rapidly proceeded from Hispaniola, as its base, and Mexico and the Isthmus of Panama were penetrated. Stories of fabulous riches were brought to Spain by explorers and mariners, even rumours of the ancient civilization of Peru, as yet undiscovered, may have reached the quays of Leyden, where More met his sunburnt wanderer from Utopia.

At the beginning of his reign Henry's foreign policy aimed at the realization of old English ambitions in France, but it was also influenced by the wishes of his father-in-law Ferdinand, whose designs were against Navarre. An expedition sent to Southern France proving unsuccessful, Henry poured a great army through Calais. There he was joined by the forces of Maximilian, Emperor of Germany, who was content to serve under him and take his pay. In accordance with traditional policy, Scotland, as ally of France, called upon Henry to desist: on his refusal the Scotch invaded England but met with defeat, Scotland mourning her dead King, James IV, and the flower of her nobility at the Battle of Flodden Field. The hostility to France was occasioned by the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. The Pope, Venice, Spain and Germany were equally alarmed. Italy was disunited; her cities, small states, had attained great opulence, but were powerless for defence by reason of there being no national unity. Venice, at the height of her fame, sent her ambassadors to the courts of Europe. Sebastian Giustinian, who was Venetian Ambassador in England when

Henry presented the infant Princess Mary to his courtiers to kiss her baby hand, relates with pardonable glee that the first words she uttered were, "Priest, priest," as her eyes lit upon Dionisius Memo, Venetian organist to the King. Trade with Venice was of the greatest importance. Many tapestries in Hampton Court Palace were worked by Italians specially brought into the country by Cardinal Wolsey. Italy was the mother of literature, painting, sculpture, and all the fine arts.

Foreign policy throughout the reign continued, based upon the balance of power, and Italy became the battlefield of the two contending rivals, France and Germany. In 1515 Charles, the grandson of the Emperor Maximilian, became King of Spain through the marriage of his father, the handsome Philip, Duke of Austria, with Joan, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. The Low Countries and Spain fell under one Crown. In 1519 he was elected Emperor of Germany as Charles V, thereby securing a commanding position in Europe, though he was definitely hampered by the progress which the Reformation was making in Germany. England, however, still remained arbiter of Europe.

The great event which altered English history some few years later was Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon, the aunt of Charles V. Henry claimed his scruples as to his marriage with his brother's wife were conscientious. General opinion was that he wanted another wife. His Queen was openly pitied and Henry reviled. Inability to obtain a divorce from Rome led to the repudiation of Papal authority. On the suggestion of Cranmer the legality of his marriage was referred to the Universities of Europe, and as an opinion against it was given, Henry proceeded to obtain his divorce in England, and through Parliament then disclaimed the supremacy and jurisdiction of the Church of Rome. The Reformation was purely political, but it obtained support on practical grounds which were mostly legal and in accordance with national tradition. Appeals had hitherto been brought from the English courts to Rome in Probate, Matrimonial and Divorce cases, and on questions affecting rights to tithes, oblations and obventions; these were generally brought for purposes of delay by rich suitors.

The necessary documents and proofs did not easily reach Rome, and when they did they were frequently carelessly examined. An appeal to Rome meant a practical denial of justice. The Papacy drew a considerable revenue from the country by exacting a contribution of a year's value from every new occupier of a spiritual living—the first-fruits or annates. A further tax of a penny a house was collected yearly, called Peter's pence, and sent to Rome. To end this system Henry turned to the lawyers, who employed the Writ of Praemunire. In the time of Edward III, when the Papacy had summoned many people to answer claims over which the King's Court had undoubted jurisdiction, a statute was passed to prohibit the practice, but further legislation was necessary. In the time of Richard II was enacted the famous statute of Praemunire, which declared that offenders against these acts forbidding submission to foreign jurisdiction should be put out of the King's protection, forfeit their lands and goods and be imprisoned and held to ransom at the King's pleasure. This statute had been strengthened by additional legislation during the reigns of Henry IV and V. By a skilful use of the writ Henry was able to hold to ransom both the laity and clergy who had offended against Praemunire, and they were generally glad to compound their offence by an acknowledgment of the Royal supremacy. Even Cardinal Wolsey, who had sat with the Papal Legate in England, found himself defenceless. 'An Act, 24th of Henry VIII, was now passed which forbade appeals to Rome. It recited that England was historically an Empire and that the King's Crown was an Imperial Crown, the spirituality and temporality owing the King obedience next to God. However much the people murmured at the divorce the measures taken against foreign jurisdiction were popular. The sentence of divorce which was pronounced by Archbishop Cranmer, was followed by the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn. Both acts were declared illegal by the Pope, who interdicted Henry. A national church now became a necessity. It was not the Church of England as now known that was established, nor the Church of Rome.

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the larger monasteries, considerably relieved the expenses of administration. Before this happened there had been ominous grumbles. On one occasion the clothiers of Suffolk, rather than pay a heavy subsidy, discharged their workmen. London flatly refused to pay, and when a voluntary gratuity or benevolence was suggested in its place the King was informed that it was illegal. The dissolution of the monasteries and an attempt to levy a subsidy in 1536 led to the rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, but the outbreak occurred only in those districts where Lollardism had never existed. The political reformation soon led to the persecution of Roman Catholics and Protestant Reformers alike. The former for refusing to acknowledge the Royal supremacy, the latter for disputing the Roman Catholic dogmas adopted by Henry: Sir Thomas More and Fisher were executed for the former. For the intellectual leaders of the Reformation we must turn to Cambridge. The principal was one Sir John Cheke, a famous Greek scholar who in Cardinal Wolsey's time was a member of St. John's College, where, with many other fellows, he privately studied the Scriptures and the works of Luther. Among his pupils was William Cecil, who married Sir John's sister, Mary. Another was Roger Ascham. In 1544 Henry appointed Cheke tutor to his infant son. As early as 1533 Ascham at Cambridge had openly opposed the authority of the Pope. The reform leaders were, however, not all Cambridge men. In 1526 Tyndale, an Oxford man, published a translation of the Bible at Cologne, a work of beautiful literary English. Copies were smuggled into the country, but they were bought up and burnt. An agency for distributing Testaments at Oxford was suppressed. Another of Tyndale's works, "The Obedience of a Christian Man," is said to have been brought to Henry's notice by Anne Boleyn. Men were now leaving for and returning from Antwerp, Germany and Switzerland who were conversant with the trend of thought abroad. In 1534 Convocation petitioned that the Bible should be translated into English, and the work was entrusted to Miles Coverdale. Two years later Tyndale, who was decoyed from the English house at Antwerp where he lived, was condemned for heresy, strangled at the stake and his body

burned. But his name, works and tragic fate were well known through England. His death helped the Reformation. The Wycliffites for years formed a large, silent army without leaders. Through the new learning fresh leaders came to the fore and taught new things (the Novelists) to the masses; who, as they listened, discovered that these ideas which were convulsing Europe were their old ideas, secretly and lovingly cherished for over a century.

Let us turn to some of the men and women who lived in Tudor times. Cardinal Wolsey first appeals to us—a great international statesman who was more than a Minister, whose ambitions were beyond measure, but who was never forgetful of England or the wishes of his royal master. Nevertheless, he was a falling star in the twilight of the Reformation. Though disliked for his ostentation and pride by the nobility, he was beloved by the people, more especially after his fall. As he was on his way to Esher by water from London to Putney in the early days of his disgrace, a mark of the royal favour reached him. Kneeling in the dirt on his knees for joy, tearing the laces of his cap, he prayed bare-headed in thankfulness. He presented his fool to the King, wanting him no more, though the fool was loath to go. In the last scene of all, when on his way to London to meet a charge of high treason, falling sick at Leicester Abbey, he said, "Master Kingston, I see the matter against me how it is framed, but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the King he would not have given me over in my gray hairs." Another international statesman, Sir Thomas More, representing reform within the Church and social reform for the country, who was Speaker of the House of Commons, jested at death even at the scaffold steps: "I pray thee see me safely up and for my coming down let me shift for myself." Thomas Cromwell, the Minister of the Reformation, a great commercial administrator, first of a line of Gray's Inn statesmen, died bravely. "You are more hated for your master's sake than for anything which I think you have wrongfully done against any man," wrote his old servant.

The women died with equal courage. Catherine, the divorced but loving and faithful wife, wrote to Henry on her

deathbed: "I make this vow, that mine eyes desire thee above all things." Anne Boleyn, who brought disappointment with the birth of her daughter Elizabeth and the birth of a dead son to the King, said: "The executioner is, I hear, very expert and my neck is very slender." Uneducated Catherine Howard, the day before her execution, calmly rehearsed it at the Tower, and met her death with marvellous serenity.

Henry VIII was an absolute monarch, and his Parliaments always addressed him as their dread monarch and were content to register his decrees. Yet every act that he did was done by form of law. In the rebellions against him he did not punish the people but pardoned their ignorance. Coming to the throne as a boy, he spent money lavishly, and was always the popular bluff King Hal. In his later years he was a tyrant, but he led the Reformation, and the Reformation was a national movement.

CHAPTER III

THE REFORMATION AND THE COUNTER REFORMATION

EDWARD VI was born at Hampton Court on October 12, 1537. When his father died he was little more than nine years of age; for three years he had been under the tutelage of Sir John Cheke, and Roger Ascham had taught him writing. Under Sir John Cheke he studied Cicero's philosophical works, Aristophanes, and the history, law and constitution of England. Sir Anthony Cooke, grandson of Sir Thomas Cooke, a former Lord Mayor of London, was called in as the great educationalist of the day to assist in his training. Cooke taught his daughters, of whom two became the most learned women in England; Mildred was the second wife to Sir William Cecil; another, Anne, who married Sir Nicholas Bacon, was the mother of Lord Bacon. She read Latin, Greek, Italian and French. The boy king was described by William Thomas, Clerk to the Privy Council, as being of a disposition apt to study; as he grew older he methodically kept a journal. When Thomas once offered to give him instruction on eighty-five questions, he selected three: on the debased currency, on forms of government, and on foreign alliances.

On his coronation, Archbishop Cranmer placed on his head three crowns in succession: the crown of Edward the Confessor, the Imperial crown, and a crown which was specially made for the ceremony; the Confessor's crown symbolizing an expectation of the meekness and purity of the reign of a new Confessor, and the Imperial crown denoting that England was an Empire, her sovereign owing allegiance to no man.

The only Imperialists were the peoples of an Empire, Germanic in policy though Roman in origin, sanctified by the name of "The Holy Roman Empire," which ended in 1806.

Henry, by his will, appointed executors to carry on the

government, but a protectorate or guardianship was required. Somerset, Edward's maternal uncle, who was free from any personal claims to the Crown, was accepted as Protector, the government being a government by a Council of Regency, with the Protector at its head.

From the administration of Cromwell two currents of policy ran in the old Council. Henry had sometimes inclined to one and sometimes to the other. On his marriage with Catherine Howard, the balance had slightly turned to the old Catholic party, which the Duke of Norfolk led, but with the execution of Catherine Howard, the balance once more turned to the Reform Party and continued to do so till the King's death. The attitude of the Continental Powers, the strength of the Reformation in Germany, and the relative strength of the parties in the Council, were factors in policy; the safety of the State being the supreme law. The Duke of Norfolk, who directly brought about the fall of Cromwell by openly accusing him in the Council of offences, was a prisoner in the Tower awaiting the death sentence, when Henry's death saved him. With the accession of the new king the great question became, "What is to be the nature of the new Commonwealth?" Ralph Robinson, Clerk to William Cecil, dedicated "Utopia," which he had translated from Latin into English, to Cecil, because he saw "every sort and kind of people to their vocation and degree busily occupied about the Commonwealth affairs, especially learned men daily putting forth in writing new inventions and devices to the furtherance of the same."

A band of illustrious Cambridge men carried the banner of the real Reformation. Among them were Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Latimer and Ridley, Sir Thomas Smith (a Secretary of State), Sir Ralph Sadler, and William Cecil. The fall of Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor, Earl of Southampton, was now imminent. Although he had carried the Sword of State at the Coronation, he was out of harmony with the new spirit of the Commonwealth, and pretexts to dismiss him were not wanting. He had renewed without licence a commission under the Great Seal empowering the Master of the Rolls, and three Masters in Chancery, to hear Chancery cases; thereupon divers students of the Com-

mon Law charged him with amplifying and enlarging the jurisdiction of Chancery, and contended that the commission was illegal. The judges and law officers of the Crown to whom the question was submitted, declared the Chancellor had forfeited his office, and rendered himself liable to fine and imprisonment. Rich in estates, but bankrupt in influence, he retired to his house in Holborn, called "Lincoln Place," where he died. His dismissal was an incident in the great struggle which continued between the Common and the Civil Law: not so much a contest between two rival schools of law, but between two schools of thought. The Civil Law would put a malefactor to excessive pain to make him confess of himself, or of his fellows or complices. "It is not used in England," wrote Sir Thomas Smith, who was a Secretary of State, a barrister of the Middle Temple and a Doctor of the Civil Law, a man well qualified to judge; "it is taken for servile, for how can he serve the Commonwealth after as a free man who hathe his bodie so haled or tortured; if he bee not found guilty and what amende can be made him. And if he must dye what crueltie is it to torment him before. Likewise confession by torment is esteemed for nothing, for if hee confesse at the judgment the tryall of the 12 goeth not upon him: If hee deny the fact; that which he said before hindreth him not. The nature of Englishmen is to neglect death to abide no torment: And therefore hee will confesse rather to have done anything yea to have killed his own father than to suffer torment; for death our nature doth not so much esteeme as a meere torment. In no place shall you see malefactors goe more constantly more assuredly and with lesse lamentation to their death than in England." He argued the people not accustomed to see such cruel torment will pity the person tormented and abhor the prince and the judges who brought such cruelty among them, and the jury will absolve him. "There is an old law of England," he says, "that if any jayler shall put any prisoner being in his custody to any torment to the intent to make him an approver, that is to say an accuser or judex of his complice the Jayler shall die therefore as a felon. And to say the truth to what purpose is to use torment? For whether the malefactor confesse or no and whatsoever he saith if the Inquest of

twelve men doe find him guilty hee dyeth therefore without delay; and the malefactor seeing there is no remedy since that they be his countrymen, and such as he hath himself agreed unto, if they do find him worthy of death yields for the most part unto it and doth not repine, but doth commodate himself to aske mercy of God."

The Civil Law allowed questioning a person on civil matters by interrogatories, on charges of heresy by torture; the Common Law did not. The Civil Law added power to the Throne, but it was responsible for the Inquisition (or questioning), the thumbscrew, and the rack. Continental countries adopted the Civil Law; England finally clung to her Common Law. The Common Law, however, was not as beneficial to wives as the Civil Law. "Although our law may seem somewhat too rigorous," says Sir Thomas Smith, "yet for the most part the wives can handle their husbands so well and so dulcely and especially when their husbands be sick, that where the law giveth them nothing of their husbands at their death of their goodwill they give them all and few there be that be not made at the death of their husbands either sole or chief executors of his last will and testament and have for the most part the government of their children and their portions except it be in London where a peculiar order is taken by the City much after the fashion of the Civil Law." His view of the Commonwealth was that the Commonwealth meant policy, and that policy must be according to the nature of the people: "It doth appear that the mutations and changes of fashions of government in Commonwealths bee natural and doe not always come of ambition or malice. And that according to the nature of the people so the Commonwealth is to it, fit and proper. The nature of our nation is free, stout, haulty and prodigall of life and bloude, but contumely, beating, servitude and servile torment and punishment it will not abide so in this nature and fashion our ancient Princes and Legislators have nourished them as to make them stout-hearted, courageous and souldiers not villaines and slaves and that is the scope almost of all our policie." There were no slaves in England; the villaines had cultivated the land they held under their lord; their names were enrolled in the book or roll of the Manor, but the

Common Law judges had turned the poor serf dependent on his lord's caprice into the copyholder : "Since our realm," says Sir Thomas Smith, "hath received the Christian religion, which maketh us all in Christ brethren and conservoes, men began to have conscience to hold in captivity and such extreme bondage him who they must acknowledge to be their brother." As servitude touched the consciences of holy monks and friars, in the confessional the Church bade the lord release his serf, and on his deathbed the cross was held up and forgiveness for sins was promised in return for the redemption of poor toiling bodies. The holy men, however, had conscience about despoiling the Church by the freeing of serfs on Church lands, so their redemption came slowly, and was often rewarded by money ; for it would have been matter for obloquy if the Church which taught redemption had refused to act up to its teaching where its own interests were concerned.

A new note of humanity was struck by the Reformation, especially in the law of treasons and felonies : "Nothing was more godly more sure more to be wished and desired betwixt a Prince the supreme head and ruler and the subjects whose governor and head he is, than on the prince's part great clemency and indulging and rather too much forgiveness and remission of his royal power and just punishment than exact severity and justice to be showed ; on the subject's behalf they should rather obey for the necessity and love of a king and prince than for fear of his strict and severe laws." Times had changed, "as in tempest or winter one course and garment is convenient, in calm or warm weather a more liberal case or outer garment."

All Acts making new treasons that had been passed since the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Edward III, all Acts concerning religion or opinion directed against heretics and Lollards, were repealed, including one inflicting the punishment of burning on presentment by sheriffs and stewards, the Act called the Six Articles, and another, which had made Proclamations of the King, law. For the first time punishments were graded in respect of first, second, and third offences ; further limitations were imposed on rights of sanctuary : Manchester and Westminster were sanctuaries no

more. The treason of the husband now ceased to deprive the innocent wife of her right to dower. Reform of the Church was carried out with the greatest vigour; the Bible—no longer confined to classes above the rank of yeoman—was opened to all, and the use of Latin was prohibited in church. The people repeated the Psalms, and listened to the lessons and homilies in language they were familiar with, gaining thereby spiritual strength, which afterwards made them the fearless sailors of the ocean, and in the wildest fury of the elements, inspired an implicit trust and faith in God.

Statesmanship turned its attention to reform in the army and to the building up of a navy. For this latter purpose the eating of flesh was forbidden in Lent on Fridays, Saturdays, and Embring and other days called vigils. Abstinence from flesh had formerly been a religious duty; Henry VIII had promulgated, declared, and opined that one day or one kind of meat of itself was not more holy, more pure, or more clean than another; all days and all meats be of their nature of one equal purity, cleanness and holiness; but Godly abstinence was a means to virtue, to subdue men's bodies to their soul and spirit; especially should fish be eaten that fishers and men using the trade of living by fishing in the sea may thereby the rather be set on work; by eating fish much flesh would be saved.

Legislative attempts were made to bring producers and consumers together and to eliminate the middleman. The heavy adverse rate of Exchange, the scarcity and debasement of the current coin, and the demand for all sorts of commodities had caused a wave of speculation to sweep the country. Victuallers or provision dealers, not content with moderate and reasonable gains, had combined and covenanted not to sell them except at unreasonable prices. Workmen had conspired not to work under a certain price or rate, or refused work others had begun, or only worked a certain amount in a day, or refused to work but at certain hours or times. Forestallers bought up merchandise and provisions which came by water, on their way to fairs and markets, to create an artificial scarcity and enhance prices. In the markets and fairs the regrators bought and sold in the same market at advanced prices. Ingrossers purchased the grow-

ing crops or corn, butter, cheese, flesh, or dead victuals from the farms to limit competition in the markets. At every market a clerk attended to see proper weights and measures were used, not to fix prices, as that was the business of the seller or Parliament. In every market or fair was a court of Piepoudre, commonly called "Piepowders," to settle disputes and give speedy justice as quickly as the dust could fall from your feet. Legislation dealt with all kinds of combinations of victuallers, workmen, forestallers, regrators, and ingrossers. Malt was adulterated: "good and evil" mixed and sold as good malt by persons who, seeking excessive gains and profits, forgot their duty to the Commonwealth. Such practices were contrary to the "honest, seemly, and godly buying, selling, and commutation that should or ought to be amongst Christian people, especially in the things concerning the sustentation and sustenance of man's body." Honesty was insisted upon in buying and selling, in making good cloth and good pewter, and in all dealings between man and man. French wines were extensively sold and taverns had been set up in back lanes, corners, and suspicious places in London and divers towns and villages; licensing was introduced. Forty taverns were licensed in London, eight in York, six in Bristol, and fewer in other towns. Gascoigne cost a penny a pint, twopence the quart, and fourpence the pottle; the Malmseys, Romseys, Sacks, and sweet wines cost 50 per cent. more. Cloth-making was carried on in Kent, Sussex, Reading, Worcester, Coventry, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Wiltshire, Oxford, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Devonshire, Taunton, and Bridgewater. Welsh cotton-making in the shires of Cardigan, Carmarthen, and Pembroke; and worsted yarn making at Norwich. The Lancashire, Cheshire, and Manchester workpeople were working at cloth-making; Manchester specialized on rugs or friezes. The Penistones, or fresh white-cloth industry, was being established in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Fuel was becoming scarce and woods and forests rapidly disappearing, especially in the Home Counties, where iron was found, but no coal. Parliament declared that wood, coal, or fuel should be bought only by those who burned it, or retailed it, or by such as burned or consumed it for their own occupy-

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ing, without fraud or covin, and by wharfingers and barge-men. Royal purveyors were forbidden to take corn, provisions, wood, coal, straw or hay without the full consent of the owner, and then only on paying ready money, even though the commodities were required for the use of the King or his household. Even for the King's purposes and wars no goods could be requisitioned without the consent of their owner for ready money, except post horses and carts, which could be taken on payment of a charge of a penny a mile for horses and three or four pence for carts. A great blow was struck at the old-standing evil of purveyance.

The clergy were now allowed to marry. Cranmer took back the wife he had parted with after the passing of the Act of the Six Articles. A law insisted upon the honouring of promises to marry, which were broken at the very altar, the Ecclesiastical courts compelling a specific performance of the contract by passing "sentence of matrimony." The condition of the wastes or common lands was not satisfactory, and trouble arose in connection with the grants to new men, the increase of rents, and the shifting of burdens on to tenants which the Norfolk people considered should be borne by the lords of the manors. These grievances brought about Kett the tanner's rebellion, a rebellion which was conducted with remarkable order. A law court was instituted and disputes settled under an oak tree on Mousehold Hill, Norwich, where Kett's army was encamped; daily prayers were offered by the peasants' chaplains, and a petition of grievances was drawn up which was signed by delegates from the Hundreds of Norfolk and Suffolk, begging for an alteration in the law with respect to enclosures. The petition declared "that we pray that all bondmen may be made free, for God made all free with his precious blood-shedding." The rebellion was suppressed with great slaughter, and Kett was executed. Riots over common rights broke out in many counties.

A programme of educational, social, and religious reform was carried out with great energy by the Protector and Parliament; numerous grammar schools were erected, and five royal hospitals (St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, Bethlehem, Bridewell, and Christ's Hospital) were founded. Bridewell soon ceased to be a receptacle for the sick, and Christ's

Hospital became the Bluecoat School. In the work of providing hospitality for the sick the City played a munificent part.

Thousands of foreign Protestants began to flock to England as a haven of refuge from persecution: Walloons, Germans, French, Italians, Poles, and Swiss. Some settled in London and Southwark; others in Canterbury, Sandwich, Maidstone, Southampton, Norwich, and Colchester. There was even a congregation of Protestant Spaniards worshipping in the City. Religious reform was bound up with social reform; Latimer preached his famous sermon of the plough in a covered place called the Shrouds outside St. Paul's; Ridley exhorted the young king to surrender his palace at Bridewell for the poor.

Cranmer sought the unity of all reformed churches on the Continent with a common standard of doctrine. Henry VIII had found it possible to unite such men as Cranmer and Ridley, Gardiner, Bonner and Tunstall, Bishop of London, on the basis of his royal supremacy and the renunciation of the authority of the See of Rome. Divergence of opinion now arose; Gardiner refused to follow the swift steps of the reformers in their religious innovations; he also objected on constitutional grounds that the ecclesiastical supremacy of a council was not the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown. When the King died, Gardiner, deprived of his bishopric, was a prisoner in the Tower.

The wars and extravagance of Henry VIII had been followed by the wars and the extravagance of the Protector, Somerset. There was a war with France and with Scotland to enforce a marriage contract between the youthful Edward VI and Mary Stuart, the child Queen of Scotland, in accordance with the plan of Henry VIII to unite the two crowns by marriage. At Pinkie (1547) the Scotch suffered defeat, but the apple of victory did not fall into the lap of England, for the Scotch estates ratified an agreement for Mary's marriage with the Dauphin of France; she was conveyed thither with her four girl companions, Mary Beaton, Mary Livingstone, Mary Fleming, and Mary Seaton.

Whilst the debts from the wars were pressing heavily on the country, we may turn our attention to Sir Richard

Gresham, one of the merchant princes of England, a former Lord Mayor of London and a friend of Henry VIII, Wolsey and Cromwell, who had large interests in the Continental trade at Antwerp and particularly with the great German house of the Hochstetters at Augsburg, involving the exchange of English cloth for quicksilver, cereals, and vermillion; he was often consulted by Wolsey and Cromwell on foreign affairs, and his humanity was as great as his ability. His second son, Sir Thomas Gresham, studied at Cambridge, where he fell under the spell of the Greek learning at Gonville Hall. Two years after his father's death he was appointed King's merchant, a position which compelled him to spend the greater part of the year at Antwerp. Antwerp was then one of the first places in Europe; to her port the merchant fleets of England sailed laden with cloth which, disembarked on the quays, was then dressed, dyed, and distributed throughout Flanders and Germany. The rate of exchange was now against England; this was fixed by Fuggers and other merchants at 16s. Flemish for every £1 sterling English. Gresham, with the assistance of his very astute agent, Richard Clough, contrived to alter this, for two or three years after the rate of exchange was 22s. Flemish for £1 English money. Gresham was compelled to bargain for time to arrange the King's debts. He obtained it by buying costly jewels and wares, ultimately paying the Fuggers £63,500, and entertaining them in celebration of the event with a sumptuous banquet. On one occasion, it is related that he secured a pair of Spanish silk stockings, which he gave to the King. Henry VIII, we are informed, possessed a pair, but they were then so valuable that he didn't care to wear them often.

There are many pictures of King Edward's court and the palace at Greenwich in which young society gathered. Sir Henry Sidney, the King's boyish companion, in whose arms he died; Lady Jane Grey, the beautiful, accomplished woman whose intelligence so greatly appealed to the King; Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, who had no eyes then for the Princess Elizabeth. Edward makes a note in his diary of a present he gave Dudley on the occasion of his wedding with Amy Robsart at the palace of Sheen.

Princess Mary was a lone figure, declining to accept the Reformation; she claimed to have Mass said in her house at Kenninghall, although forbidden by the Act of Uniformity; if she were persecuted, "her good sweet brother was not responsible for her persecution."

Somerset was beloved by the common people, but his Protectorate ended, and ultimately he was executed. Northumberland, who as Warwick had fought at Pinkie, captured Boulogne in the French War, and crushed the rebellion of Kett, now intrigued to depose Somerset, and when he succeeded, free from any kind of opposition, he secured Letters Patent from the King to exclude Mary and Elizabeth from the Crown, and limit the succession to any heir male of the Lady Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, born during the King's life; failing such heir, to Lady Jane Grey. Lady Jane Grey had married his son, Guildford Dudley. The Protectorate of Northumberland led to no alteration in the policy of the Reformation; England was gradually becoming Protestant, but not so much as Northumberland thought. The movement was like a November summer with the winter to follow.

From the windows of the House of State we may see avenues of policy opening everywhere. The accession of Mary to the throne meant a reversal of the Reform movement, but what that meant for certain no one knew, though many feared.

"In the years preceding 1553 the merchants perceived," wrote Clement Adam, "their commodities and wares to be in small request with the countries and peoples about us and near unto us and that those merchandises which strangers in the time and memory of our ancestors did seek and desire were now neglected and the price thereof abated although by us carried to their own ports and all foreign merchandises in great account and their prices wonderfully raised. Certain grave citizens of London and men of great wisdom and careful for the good of their country began to think with themselves how this mischief might be remedied. Neither was a remedy (as it then appeared wanting to their desires) for the avoiding of so great an inconvenience; for seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portugals by the dis-

covery and search of new trades and countries was marvelously increased supposing the same to be a course and mean for them also to obtain the like, they thereupon hit upon a new and strange navigation. And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabot a man in those days very renowned happened to be in London they began first of all to deal and consult diligently with him and after much speech and conference together it was at last concluded that three ships should be prepared and furnished out for the search and discovery of the Northern part of the world to open a way and passage to our men for travel to new and unknown kingdoms."

Their next step was to form a company. Choice was made of certain grave and wise persons in manner of a senate as directors; money was publicly raised, private subscriptions being limited to £25. With £5,000, readily obtained, three ships were furnished and victualled for a voyage of eighteen months. Sir Hugh Willoughby was selected as general and admiral. Chancellor, the second in command, was recommended by Sir Henry Sidney to the merchants, whom he addressed as follows: "My very worshipful friends I cannot but commend your present Godly and virtuous attention in the serious enterprise for the singular love you bear to your country a matter which I hope will prove propitious for the nation and honourable to this our land which intention of yours we also of the nobility are ready to our power to help and forward. Neither do we hold anything so dear and precious unto us what we will not willingly forego and lay out in so commendable a cause. But principally I rejoyce in myself that I have nourished and maintained that with which is like by some means to profit and steede you in this worthy action. But yet I would not have you ignorant of this one thing that I do now part with Chancellor not because I make little reckoning of the man or that his maintenance is burdensome and chargeable unto me but that you might conceive and understand my good will and promptitude for the furtherance of this business and that the authority and estimation which he deserveth may be given him. You know the man by report I by experience, you by words I by deeds, you by speech and company but I by the daily

trials of his life have a perfect and full knowledge of him."

The *Bona Esperanza*, Admiral of the Fleet, a vessel of 120 tons burthen, carrying Sir Hugh Willoughby, and the *Edward Bonaventura*, bearing Chancellor, with the *Bona Confidentia*, a smaller vessel, started from Ratcliffe on May 20, 1553, passing Greenwich, where the Court then was. The courtiers came running out, and the common people flocked together, standing very thick upon the shore; the Privy Councillors looked out from the windows of the palace; the rest ran up to the top of the towers. The ships discharged their ordnance; the mariners shouted, so that the sky rang again with the noise thereof. "It was a very triumph," wrote the chronicler, "but alas the good King Edward, in respect of whom principally all this was prepared, by reason of his sickness was absent from this show. Not long after the lamentable and most sorrowful account of his death followed."

The ships put in at Harwich, where they were delayed some time. Ultimately starting, after many days' sailing, "they kenned land afar off whereunto the pilots directed their ships." They landed on Rost Island. Next proceeding northward they espied other islands called the Crosse of Islands; soon after leaving these Sir Hugh Willoughby set out his flag, called the chiefest men of the other ships on board, and arranged that if a storm arose and the ships were scattered, every ship should do its best to reach Wardhouse in the Kingdom of Norway, and the ship that arrived there first should await the coming of the others. That very day, about four o'clock, a great tempest arose. The General, in his loudest voice, called on Chancellor not to keep far from him, but the Admiral's ship was a fast sailer and was carried away and lost to sight; the third ship also. This was the last ever seen of Sir Hugh Willoughby and his companions alive, for the two ships, driven on to the shores of Lapland, were wrecked and the crew starved or frozen to death. A few survived till the early months of 1554; by their frozen bodies were afterwards discovered the wills that they had made that year. Chancellor reached Wardhouse. After waiting seven days, he again set sail, and sailed so far

that he came at last to one place where he found no night at all, but a continual light and brightness of the sun shining clearly upon the huge and mighty sea. At last he reached a great bay, where he anchored, much to the amazement of the inhabitants, who had never seen so great a ship before. In fear, as men half dead, they prostrated themselves before him and offered to kiss his feet; "but he according to his great and singular courtesy looking pleasantly upon them comforted them by signs and gestures, taking them up in all loving sort from the ground." The spot he reached was near Archangel in Russia, and this was the first acquaintanceship the English ever had with the Russians. Chancellor was taken to Moscow, which he found in bigness to be as great as the City of London with the suburbs thereof. The Emperor he found wearing an Imperial crown, with his chief secretary on one side of him and on the other his great commander of silence, both functionaries arrayed in cloth of gold. Chancellor, by no means daunted, presented a letter of greeting from Edward VI. He created such a favourable impression through his courtesy and humanity that he obtained great privileges for the English merchants.

If this episode has been detailed at some length it is because it was the first of many which inaugurated the companies of merchant adventurers who carried English trade throughout the world.

On the death of Edward VI the Reformation halted and the counter Reformation began; but the spirit of English merchant-adventure did not cease: it carried the flag of St. George within the next fifty years east and west, and it has taken the Union Jack all over the world.

Edward VI died on July 6, 1553; but his sister Mary was kept in ignorance of his death for some days. Meanwhile, Lady Jane Grey, importuned by her father, by her father-in-law Northumberland, and her husband, reluctantly accepted the Crown in accordance with the will of Edward, dated June 21, 1552. On July 10 she was proclaimed as Queen by the Council. An attempt had been made to secure the person of Mary; but, receiving timely warning, she made for Sawston Hall, Cambridge, where her life was in danger from the citizens, who were strong reformers.

Disguised as a market woman, she fled, passing through Bury St. Edmunds and reaching Kenninghall the same night; thence she retired to Framlingham Castle. From July 10 to the 13th there was a great hurrying of men and galloping of horses through the Eastern and other counties; by the 13th an army of 13,000 men had assembled at Framlingham, and Mary's standard was unfolded at Norwich. She was soon universally proclaimed Queen except in London. Lords and Commons declared on her behalf. Three days later she was acknowledged at Queenhithe; on the 19th she started for London, her army gathering strength as it passed through Essex. On August 3 she disbanded it. At Wanstead she met Elizabeth, who rode out to welcome her. With a great escort of ladies and gentlemen she proceeded from Wanstead to Aldgate and from Aldgate to the Tower, with bells ringing, bonfires blazing, and shouts of applause from the populace. At the Tower she released the aged Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Courtenay.

The Queen, now head of the English Commonwealth, was over thirty-seven years of age, unmarried; she had often been the subject of treaties. When she was two years old an heir was born to the Crown of France, and straightway statesmen negotiated for her marriage with the Dauphin; in October their betrothal took place at Greenwich, a magnificent ceremony, when the baby princess was present dressed in cloth of gold with a cap of black velvet blazing in jewels on her head. The Dauphin was represented by proxy, Admiral Bonnivet, who placed a diamond ring on the little lady's finger. To sanctify the betrothal Cardinal Wolsey celebrated High Mass. According to the treaty the marriage was to be completed when the Dauphin was fourteen, when Mary was to be sent to Abbeville with a dowry. She was frequently affianced, for betrothals and marriages played a great part in policy; at six she was pledged to the Emperor Charles V, then twenty-three, who came to Windsor to view his future wife, and for ever after kept a warm heart for her. Other suitors loomed in sight; James V of Scotland; then France again, for Charles would not wait. Meanwhile the little princess was brought up in Worcestershire, taught

Latin, Greek, the Paraphrases of Erasmus, More's "Utopia," and the story of patient Griselda; she learnt to play the lute, the virginals and the regals; worked at embroidery, translated a passage of St. Thomas Aquinas into her Missal, and conversed in Latin, French and Spanish. She was a precocious child of eleven; not over-strong, thin, sparse and small of person, a mere pawn in politics growing up in the Reformation but not of it. Clouds gathered over her young life in years when existence should have proved sweet, but Mary tasted nothing but bitterness. She stood up staunchly for her mother against her father, when the King imputed her conduct to her inherited Spanish obstinacy of disposition; Parliament declared her illegitimate, but Hertfordshire peasants greeted her as their only rightful princess. We read of Ann Boleyn's jealousy, after the birth of Elizabeth, of Mary's refusal to take the oath of Supremacy, her enforced separation from her mother; of Cromwell's stigmatizing her as an obstinate and obdurate woman, and the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Sussex considering "her head should be knocked against the wall till it was as soft as a baked apple." Fond of children, godmother to fifteen, there was no marriage for Mary for many years to come; Cromwell suggested the Protestant Prince William of Cleves, but his influence was then waning and the suggestion died with his fall. At thirty-one years of age Mary remained unmarried, a lone woman, high of rank, but a clog on policy and unwanted; bitterness soured her disposition. She was threatened by the Council till Charles V announced that if she were further molested it would mean a war with Spain. She was intrigued against to the last.

The plot against the Succession was expiated by the execution of Northumberland and the imprisonment of Guildford Dudley and his wife, Lady Jane Grey, in the Tower. A general pardon was granted to the insurgents, accompanied with considerable remission of taxation. The first Acts of Parliament were marked with clemency; no act or offence was to be treason, petty treason or misprision of treason but such as had been so declared by the Statute 25 Edw. III; and all offences made felony or premunire since the first year of Henry VIII ceased to be such. The Queen

was declared to have been born in a most just and lawful matrimony, all statutes to the contrary were repealed, including the sentence of divorce. The beginning of the reign thus augured well; there was a good deal of sympathy for Mary. It was generally recognized that she had endured much suffering, sorrow and injustice. She had been deposed not in favour of Elizabeth but of Lady Jane Grey. Notwithstanding the laws in existence against it, Mary openly followed her religion. The question of her marriage now cropped up, and Parliament begged her to marry an Englishman; never as yet had the Crown descended to a woman, and many even doubted whether a Queen could be invested with the full prerogatives of a king. An Act of Parliament therefore declared that the royal power of the realm and all the dignities of the same should be as well in a queen as a king. To Parliament on the subject of her marriage Mary answered it was her business; she wrote to Charles V, her first cousin, for advice; and he informed her that Philip his son was ready to marry her; Parliament still pressed for her marriage with an Englishman, and were about to pass a resolution through both Houses recommending it. Gardiner remonstrated with her, but in vain. As Philip was eleven years her junior, Friar Peto urged she would be the slave of a young husband and could only bring him to the Crown at the risk of her life; Mary was inflexible. One night she secretly summoned Simon Renard, the Emperor's Ambassador, to her private oratory, and there recited the *Veni Creator Spiritus* and then passionately vowed that she would marry none other than Philip.

On October 1, 1553, she went to Westminster by water, resplendent in crimson velvet, miniver fur, ribbons of Venetian gold, silk and lace, and was there crowned. At the Coronation banquet the Princess Elizabeth and Anne of Cleves sat on her left hand, Gardiner on her right. Early in 1554 Count Egmont landed in Kent to negotiate the articles of marriage, but the crowd, mistaking him for Philip, nearly tore him to pieces; notwithstanding the intense discontent, the marriage articles were signed; some concessions, however, were made to English opinion. It was stipulated that none but natives should hold office; Philip, however, was to help the Queen in the

work of government. Any child of the marriage was to succeed to the Queen's dominions and inherit Holland and the Flemish provinces. Three rebellions immediately broke out. Sir Thomas Wyatt, who from residence abroad knew Spanish methods, stirred Kentish disaffection into flames; marching from Rochester to Deptford he proclaimed Elizabeth as Queen. Mary, who did not lack personal courage in the crisis, threw herself on the loyalty of the City of London; unable to cross London Bridge Wyatt marched to Kingston where he crossed the Thames; proceeding to London he reached Hyde Park Corner, but met with defeat in attempting to penetrate into the City. Elizabeth was sent to Woodstock under ward, declaring that she was truly innocent of Wyatt's treason. Lady Jane Grey and her husband were then executed, and Mary declined to further temporize with Protestantism. Meanwhile the preparations for the marriage continued, Philip arriving at Southampton on July 20. To demonstrate his friendship he called for a tankard of English ale. On the 25th the Royal marriage took place at Winchester Cathedral; an expensive affair which, with other State functions arranged by Mary to please her husband, set Sir Thomas Gresham borrowing money at Antwerp, notwithstanding the bridegroom's contribution of ninety-seven chests of bullion, which were paraded through the City to impress London imaginations with the immensity of Spanish riches.

The religious changes now openly taking place were received without much opposition; Paget, who was a Secretary of State, expressed the opinion that there was little religion in England; it was generally recognized by the Council, however, that on the question of the subordination of England to Rome the strongest opposition might be expected. Meanwhile Cardinal de la Pole, for years an exile, waited impatiently as Papal Legate for the signal to return to England to restore Rome's supremacy. Charles V counselled circumspection, change must proceed with caution; for to subordinate the nationality of England to Rome was a more dangerous matter than to introduce doctrinal and ceremonial changes. The Queen's Council weighed the Emperor's reasons; nevertheless, Pole wrote impatiently to Philip: "Strange, too, that

this is the house of Mary; can it be Mary that is so slow to open? True indeed it is when Mary's damsel heard the voice she opened not the door for joy. She ran and told Mary, but Mary came with those that were with her in the house, and though at first she doubted, yet when Peter continued knocking she opened the door. She took him in; she regarded not the danger although Herod was yet alive and was king . . . you who are King of England are defender of Christ's faith, yet while you have the Ambassadors of all other Princes at your Court you will not have Christ's Ambassador—you have rejected your Christ. . . . Go on upon your way, build on the foundation of worldly policy, and I will tell you in Christ's word that the rain will fall, the floods will rise, the winds will blow and beat upon that and it will fall, and great will be the fall thereof."

Charles V desired the English alliance to assist him against France. Mary was unfaltering in her determination to restore the Roman Catholic Church; members of Parliament were now discreetly chosen, men who would not hesitate to revive and strengthen old laws devised years before against the Lollards, weapons to be used against the Reformers. The new Parliament re-enacted the Statutes for the arrest of heretical priests, suppression and punishment of heretics and for dealing with the enormity of heresy and Lollardism, repealing all provisions made against the See of Rome. The clergy were even brought round to petition that their lands and goods, which had been confiscated and were in the hands of the laity, might so remain, preferring, so they stated, "the public peace before their private commodity." It was impossible to go further or obtain better terms for them in England, and on these terms Cardinal Pole was formally received, with many outward signs of gratification, for the purpose of reconciling the English nation with the See of Rome.

The Reformation seemed dead; it was thought that a little terrorism, some examples made of obstinate and perverse persons, would crush it for ever; then began the persecution that gained for the Queen the title of "Bloody Queen Mary," which, told in the pages of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," a book for centuries afterwards exhibited in hundreds of homes next

to the family Bible, destroyed the hope of the Roman Catholic Church. The history of this persecution is replete with stories of pathos, exalted courage and sufferings borne with marvellous fortitude by all sorts and conditions of men, from the archbishop to the humble artisan—even women and children perishing in the flames. Here are a few pictures of the men and women. The wife of Rogers, with her nine little children by her side and her infant at her breast, welcomed her dauntless husband with hysterical cries of joy as if he were on his way to a festival instead of to the stake. "Could you endure the flames?" one was asked when before Bonner, Bishop of London. "Try me if you will," was the reply, and he held out his hand in the flame of a candle, unheeding the burning. Lawrence, at Colchester, with young children pressing round the flames, called out: "Lord, strengthen thy servant and keep thy promise." Sometimes singly, sometimes in twos and threes, men and women died with gunpowder under their arms or sowed among the faggots, often perhaps mercifully placed to quicken death, but not always. Bishop Hooper, at Gloucester, for three-quarters of an hour in torment cried out: "For God's love, good people, let me have more fire." At Oxford, where Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Latimer and Ridley met their death, a memorial consecrates their martyrdom. The candle was then lit that has never been put out. Of the hundreds who perished, few were burnt for actual and open propaganda. The methods of the Inquisition were adopted and spies were abroad. Many suffered for opinions that they privately expressed. The Church of England, watered by the blood of her martyrs, steadily grew to great strength.

Was Mary or Philip responsible for this persecution? Either could have stopped it. Mary's heart, it is true, was set on the restoration of the old religion, but she was greatly under the influence of Philip, and Philip was a bigot, as his subsequent conduct showed. During the persecution hundreds fled from England; men of the Reform movement, like Sir Thomas Smith and Walsingham, and foreign refugees who had settled in the country in the reign of Edward VI. Spaniards came to England and walked the streets of London, bringing with them high-born words and manners and the

steel daggers of Toledo. Meanwhile Sir Thomas Gresham, for a short time supplanted in the office of King's merchant, then restored through the inefficiency of his successor, was busy raising money, for the financial difficulties of the nation were increasing by leaps and bounds.

There are two pleasing incidents now worth recording : the permission given to Peter the Martyr, an Italian friar, Professor of Divinity at Oxford since 1547, the friend of Cranmer, to leave the country as he was a stranger invited by Edward VI to settle here; and the conduct of Boxall, a Secretary of State, a lovable Winchester boy and New College Don, "a person of great modestie and learning," of whom Strype wrote: "Though he was great with Queen Mary, yet he had the good principle to abstain from the cruel blood-shedding of the Protestants, giving neither his hand nor his consent thereto."

Affairs soon called Philip to the Continent; he was bored with England. "Æneas has started on his wanderings," wrote the French Ambassador, "and left his poor Dido disconsolate." We learn of Mary writing to Gresham, who was growing in her favour, for news of her absent lord. Philip was in no haste to return, and left the cares of State to the Queen, who worked incessantly. Meanwhile Gresham was scheming to export bullion from the Low Countries, first in bags of pepper, then in dry vats containing one thousand demi-lancers' harness which he obtained permission to buy for the defence of the realm. You may picture him, a man above the middle height, grave and courteous in bearing, for his country's purposes indulging in heavy potations with custom house officers, and giving handsome presents, so that the gates of Gravelines should be always open when his servants arrived with bags of bullion to stow on the vessels with sail set for England, as the tide served.

During the whole of this period the social condition of the country was bad; prices were still rising, especially of barley, rye, corn, malt beer, butter, cheese, herrings and cod; export of necessaries was, except by license, totally prohibited. In the case of corn, rye and barley the prohibition was made absolute, till prices fell so low as to affect production. There was a great scarcity of cattle because the land had been laid

out to feed sheep, oxen, runts, shrubs, steers and heifers without caring to breed and rear young beasts and cattle. An Act was passed which prescribed that one cow should be kept for every 60 sheep, a calf for every 120 sheep, one milch cow for 10 fed beasts, and a calf reared for every two milch kine.

The intercourse now existing between the City and Gray's Inn is noteworthy as showing the truth of Lord Bacon's application of Aristotle's philosophy to London. The Greshams and the Bacons were allied by marriage, Sir Thomas Gresham and Sir Nicholas Bacon having married sisters; James Bacon, Alderman and Sheriff, was Sir Nicholas Bacon's brother. Sir Nicholas was born in the house which belonged to his father at Drinkstone, Suffolk; others say at Chislehurst, Kent, about 1509, in the house probably belonging to the parents of Sir Francis Walsingham; he was at College with Sir William Cecil and Sir Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. By his second marriage with Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, he became Sir William Cecil's brother-in-law, and the two interchanged visits at Redgrave and Burleigh, their country houses. Many of the old nobility have their origin in City ancestors.

The great event of the reign from a mercantile point of view was the opening of trade with Russia; Chancellor returned to England in 1554, and was entrusted by Philip and Mary with letters to hand on his return to Russia to the Russian Emperor, beseeching him to appoint commissaries to trade and confer with some English merchants. The agents of the Russian Company were enjoined to study the natures, dispositions, laws, customs, manners and behaviour of the Russian people; to note diligently the subtleties of their bargaining. Directions were also given to establish houses for merchants in good trading towns; inferior officers were not to sleep outside the Company's premises. Search was to be made for Sir Hugh Willoughby's mariners. It is impossible to peruse the articles, instructions, and the new charter granted to the Company without realizing the lofty conception of trade held; perhaps this may not be wondered at when it is remembered that the Governor was old Sebastian Cabot, and that Sir John Gresham, Sir Thomas

White and Sir Richard Barnes, some of the most enlightened merchants of the country, were leading spirits of the Company.

The Charter created a perpetual fellowship, to consist of a governor, four consuls and 24 assistants. On Saturday, April 23, 1556, St. George's Day, which was a favourite day for starting enterprises, the *Searchthrift*, pinnace, with Master Stephen Burrough, pilot, a Devonshire man, one of the twelve "counsellors" appointed for the first voyage to Russia, left Ratcliffe in 1553. The Right Worshipful Sebastian Cabot boarded the vessel at Gravesend with a company of ladies and gentlemen: "Who, after they had viewed our pinnace and tasted of such cheer as we could make them aboard, went on shore, giving to our mariners right liberal reward, and the good olde gentleman, Master Cabot, gave to the poor most liberal alms, wishing them to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of the *Searchthrift* our pinnace, and then at the sign of the *Christopher* he and his friends banquetted and made me and them that were in the company great cheer, and for very joy that he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery he entered into the dance himself amongst the rest of the young and lusty company, which being ended he and his friends departed, most gently commending us to the governance of Almighty God." Burrough's voyage resulted in the discovery of an entrance to the Kara Sea, the strait between Nova Zembla and the Isle of Waigatz leading thereto, but he failed to learn the fate of Sir Hugh Willoughby. On April 18, 1557, the *Philip and Mary*, the only one left of three vessels which had started from Russia, reached the Thames. With Chancellor on board, the *Edward Bonaventura*, was driven on the rocks on the Scottish coast, and in saving the Russian Ambassador's life Chancellor lost his own. Arriving in London on February 27 following, the Ambassador was received by the leading merchants of the City of London, the Lord Mayor and aldermen and Viscount Montague conducting him through the City: "With great admiration and plausibility of the people running plentifully on all sides and replenishing all streets in such sort as no man without difficulty might pass." A lodging in Fenchurch

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Street was provided for him, two chambers richly hanged and decked, over and above the gallant furniture of the whole house, together with an ample and rich cupboard of plate of all sorts, to furnish and serve him at all meals and other services during his abode in London. He was treated with the greatest honour, and made numerous presents; on April 23 he was received in audience, and afterwards was with special honour led into the chapel where a stately seat was prepared for him in sight of the whole Order of the Garter. From a letter which was written by the Company to their agents in Russia it appears that tallow, train-oil, tar, hemp and flax were most in request. The agents were directed not to send over tar or hemp owing to the cost of transit: "Whereas you have provided tar and as we suppose some hemp ready bought, our advice is that in no wise you send any of it hitherto unwrought; therefore we have sent you seven ropemakers, as by the copies of their covenants here enclosed shall appear, whom we will you set to work with all expedition in making of cables and ropes of all sorts." The ropemakers were to be supplied with Russian labourers, so when the ropemakers returned the Company should not be left destitute of good workmen. A substantial output of ropes was required: "We esteem it a principal commodity, and that the Council of England doth well allow. Seeing you have great plenty of hemp there at a reasonable price, we trust we shall be able to buy as good stuff from thence and better cheap than out of Danske, if it be diligently used and have a good overseer." Danske was the Polish name for Danzig, the port for the export of cables and ropes. Inquiries were to be prosecuted as to obtaining steel from Russia and Tartary, and whether copper was dealt in in plates or flat slabs; what cloth was imported by the Poles and Letts, and what merchandise by the Flemish. Inquiries should be made as to leather, of which great store was bought by the Esterlings. Information was required as to what colours for dyeing leather and wool were brought by Turks and Tartars. As train-oil promised the quickest return, coopers were sent out to make barrels to contain it.

Philip returned to England in March, 1557; during his absence Mary had lived practically in retirement; sometimes

she stopped at St. James's Palace, and at other times at Somerset House. Often she wrote to Gresham for information about her husband. She bade the barons of the Cinque Ports to hold ships in readiness "to escort her dearest lord." His sudden return was to induce Mary to join him in war with France; Charles V had abdicated, and the sovereignty of the Netherlands and Flanders fell to Philip, who had embroiled himself with France. Notwithstanding the influential remonstrances made her she agreed, and an English army was dispatched overseas. When he had accomplished his purpose Philip left England, and Mary never saw him again. In the autumn, Scotland declared war on England, and on January 3, 1558, Calais, from which many guards had as usual been withdrawn for the sake of economy, surrendered. It was a black Christmas; the Queen, who was in desperate plight for money, summoned Parliament amidst a general discontent.

The closing months of Mary's life were chiefly devoted to securing the Crown for Elizabeth. Her health had been undermined by disease and mental worry, not altogether for the sake of Philip, but for the loss of Calais. When his name was suggested to her as the sole cause of her sorrow, she replied: "Not only that, but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calais written upon my heart." Her death left the English people with a hatred of the cruelty inflicted in the name of religion, and an intensified feeling of nationality. To realize this is to understand many things which happened in the time of Elizabeth.

CHAPTER IV

THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH

ELIZABETH was at Hatfield on November 17, 1558. On the morning of that day Parliament sat as early as eight o'clock expecting tidings momentarily of Mary's death; a message reached the Commons from the Lords requesting their attendance; Lord Chancellor Heath then announced that Mary had passed away. "We have determined to proclaim the Lady Elizabeth without further tract of time." When the news was brought to Elizabeth, she exclaimed: "It is the Lord's doings, and it is marvellous in our eyes." Her first Council assembled in the old hall at Hatfield, where Sir William Cecil took the oath of office as Secretary of State: "This judgment I have of you," said Elizabeth, "that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gifts and that you will be faithful to the State." The Council blended old and new members; among the latter were Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir William Cecil's brother-in-law, a treasury of legal lore and common sense, of portly presence, fond of jokes, some of which his son, Lord Bacon, has preserved, Sir Thomas Parry, Ambrose Parry, and the Marquis of Northampton, Queen Katherine Parr's brother. The new Queen was twenty-five years of age, above the middle height, straight of figure, with regular features, clear complexion, and a profusion of rich auburn hair. Her eyes were hazel and could flash with anger or sparkle with fun. Led by her feelings, she was always governed by her intellect, but for England she possessed an absorbing passion. The position of affairs was explained: "The Queen poor, the realm exhausted, the nobility poor and decayed, good captains and soldiers wanted, the people out of order, justice not executed; all things dear, divisions amongst ourselves; war with France, the French King bestriding the realm, one foot in Calais the other in Scotland; steadfast enemies but no steadfast friends."

From Hatfield Elizabeth made a leisurely progress to the City, lodging five days at the Charterhouse, Lord North's abode, thence proceeding by way of Barbican and Cripplegate, along London Wall into Bishopsgate, up Leadenhall Street, through Gracechurch Street and Fenchurch Street, turning down Mark Lane to the Tower of London, where she stayed awhile. From the Tower she removed to the Strand or Somerset House by water, shooting one of the arches of London Bridge to the sound of trumpets, and on December 23 she arrived at Westminster, where she kept her Christmas.

London gave her a royal welcome. It was natural, for her mother's great grandfather, Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, had been Lord Mayor in 1457. Many pageants were presented her; the children made speeches of welcome; the scholars of St. Paul's addressed her in Latin; there was singing and playing with the regals, portable organs played by the right hand while a bellows was worked by the left. The City demonstrated its Protestantism. Near the little conduit at the upper end of Cheapside a pageant was erected. There an old man with scythe and wings representing Time emerged from a hollow place and led forth a lady, clad in white silk, Truth, daughter of Time. Truth tendered a book, the word of truth, the Bible. Elizabeth accepted it, kissed it, then placed it next to her heart, declaring she would often read it. As yet she expressed no decided views on religious controversies. The Recorder of London handed her a purse of crimson satin richly wrought with gold containing a thousand golden marks. She said: "I thank my Lord Mayor and his brethren and you all, and whereas your request is that I should continue your good lady and Queen, be you ensured that I will be as good unto you as ever Queen was to her people. No will in me can lack, neither do I trust shall there lack any power, and persuade yourselves that for the safety and quietness of you all I will not spare, if need be, to shed my blood. God thank you all." At the conduit in Fleet Street was built from the north side a stage "whereon was a palm tree, under which a seemlie and mete personage richly apparelled in scarlet robes sat crowned as a Queen"; a tablet stated she was Deborah, the judge and restorer of the House of Israel;

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six personages around her represented the nobility, clergy and commonalty. Elizabeth was likened unto Deborah, that prophetess of old Israel who brought peace for forty years to the Children of the Promise. During her reign she was always the same (*semper eadem*), and the English were God's people "because we are now the House of God and the people of God, the Jews being cut off to whom God was the law-giver, we being engrossed in their stead, so as the judgments that are executed are not the judgments of men but of God, and He is with them in the cause and in the judgment."

Elizabeth struck a keynote of popularity at once; many were the nosegays she received from poor women's hands, and often she stayed her chariot when she saw a simple body who offered to speak to her. At the Fleet Bridge a poor woman gave her some rosemary with her supplication; she kept the offering till she reached Westminster. Her popularity never diminished. After her death the people kindled bonfires to celebrate her memory till the practice was prohibited. The question of her marriage was of the greatest importance. The Speaker of the Commons House, with some members, suggested it. She answered: "If any of you be in suspect that whensoever it may please God to incline my head to another kind of life, you may well assure yourselves my meaning is not to do or determine anything whereby the realm may or shall have just cause to be discontented and therefore put that clean out of your heads, for I assure you what credit my assurance may have with you I cannot tell. That what credit it shall deserve to have the sequel shall declare. I will never in that matter conclude anything that shall be prejudicial to the realm for the weal, good and safety whereof I will never shun to spend my life."

The London Elizabeth passed through was Shakespeare's "quick forge and working-house of thought." Already a famous city, it contained from about 120,000 to 150,000 inhabitants living in houses closely packed together. The various trades were congregated in localities: Goldsmiths in Chepe, grocers and druggists in Bucklersbury, drapers in Watling Street, Skinners in Budge Row and Walbrook, stock fishmongers in Thames Street, wet fishmongers in

Knightrider Street, ironmongers in Ironmonger Lane, and shoemakers at St. Martin's le Grand. The merchants carried out their transactions in the open air in Lombard Street; there were then left many old houses of the nobility; some still lived in them, but rank was moving west. In St. Swithin's Lane the Russian Company had a business house; on the site of Cannon Street Station stood the house of the Hanseatic League. England was then unable fully to supply herself with manufactured goods. Water came from the Thames. In Chepe stood the Great Conduit; elsewhere there were other conduits or water fountains. Hard by the conduit the house of the water bearer displayed its sign of the water tankard; the water bearer drew water in wooden tankards which held three gallons; tankards broad at the bottom and narrow at the top. Taverns had painted lattices, some red, some green. On the site of St. Paul's Cathedral was old St. Paul's, built in the shape of a cross and surrounded by a wall. Within the wall, facing an open space, stood the famous pulpit from which sermons were preached. By the side of the walls of the cathedral from booksellers' stands were sold the latest English and foreign books. Old St. Paul's was a fashionable resort and all sorts jostled in its walks. But the glory of London was old London Bridge, the busy highway between Southwark and the City, the only bridge till Kingston was reached. Its piers were of great breadth, its arches narrow; the tides rushed and swirled through them in dangerous fashion. It was erected on twenty arches of excellent freestone, of three score foot in height and full twenty in distance one from another. On the bridge were many large houses with shops, particularly mercers and haberdashers. About six score churches served for Divine service; London was even then becoming a storehouse and mart for all Europe. The great thoroughfare was the Thames, crowded with wherries, barges and other craft. From the landing-stages a constant hubbub arose from the watermen, crying out "Eastward Ho!" or "Westward Ho!" according to whether they plied up or down river. To negotiate the arches of London Bridge required great skill; passengers often preferred to alight than to risk the passage. On the south banks of the Thames stretched the well-known Paris

Gardens, where was a bull-ring and a bear-ring. The Fleet stream joined the Thames near Bridewell, once a palace; close by was the Fleet prison. Up stream on the north side stretched the Temple Gardens; farther on were the mansions and grounds of the nobility with frontages facing the river and backs abutting on the Strand. On the opposite side of the Strand were a number of mean houses. From Fleet Street, Chancery Lane, Fetter Lane and Shoe Lane ran towards Holborn. At the entrance to the Temple, at the sign of the Hande and Starre, was a bookshop where the history of Romeo and Juliet, in Shakespeare's time, was on sale. The foundation was laid of the Middle Temple Hall in 1562, and just ten years later, in the Treasurership of Edmund Plowden, it was completed. The curious screen with its exquisite carving was erected at the lower end of the Hall in 1574. Within the Hall the high table was separated from the table for lesser folk by a bar; there were tables of the utter barristers, tables of the inner bar and clerks' commons; a yeoman's table stood outside the screen for the Benchers' clerks. East of the Middle Temple was the Inner Temple, with the Temple Church, common to both inns. Lincoln's Inn with its fine archway was in existence; Gray's Inn was then the most popular of the Inns of Court; "the place where myself came forth unto service," said Lord Burleigh. The four Inns of Court with the ten Inns of Chancery nearly reached, but they never quite attained, the dignity of a legal university; a great knowledge of law was, however, diffused through London, by reason of the number of students, and the lectures, sometimes openly given, by the Readers of the Inns to the public. Although London frequently suffered from the plague which was brought from abroad, the air was sweet when it blew from the northern heights beyond Holborn, down which the citizens used to ramble over the fields to the neighbouring village of Clerkenwell. In the gardens grew white violets, wallflowers, the stock gillyflowers, cowslips, flower-de-luces, lilies, rosemary, tulips, peonies and French honeysuckle. The cherry trees, damson and plum trees, with whitethorn and lilac, made a London spring a joy. In summer strawberries ripened in Hatton Garden, and the Temple boasted of the fruit from its pear trees.

Many men and women who afterwards played great parts in the Elizabethan Commonwealth were then (1558) very young; some were not yet born. Sir Philip Sidney was a boy of four, but his father, Sir Henry Sidney, was already a great man. His mother had lost her good looks through smallpox whilst nursing Elizabeth, thereafter "choosing rather to hide herself from the curious eyes of a delicate time than come upon the stage of the world with any disparagement." Edmund Spenser was a little boy. London, "his most kindly nurse, that to me gave this life's first native source." Sir Ralph Sadler was in the prime of life, a man of the Reform Movement, afterwards employed in delicate negotiations with the Scottish Protestants, learned and implicitly trusted by Sir William Cecil: "Quick and clear were his thoughts, speedy and resolute in his performances, he could not endure the spending of that time in designing one action which might perform two or that delay in performing two which might have designed twenty." Walsingham of Gray's Inn, sharp-eyed, afterwards ambassador in Paris and Secretary of State, keen on unearthing conspiracies and in promoting discoveries in the new world. Thomas Bodley of Exeter, who afterwards devoted his fortune of £18,000 towards the repair and rebuilding of the old library at Oxford, founder of the Bodleian, who had none more his friend among the Lords of the Council than Lord Treasurer Burleigh, was a boy of fourteen back from Geneva. Peter Blundell, who years before at Tiverton had saved enough money to load a pack horse and bade good-bye to Devon, was a prosperous merchant in London; Blundell's School still keeps alive his memory. On the sand at Budleigh Salterton Sir Walter Raleigh roamed, a lad of six; by the banks of the Dart in the parish of Stoke Gabriel, which there compasseth Sandridge near three parts thereof in its way to Dartmouth, was John Davis, a lad of eight; Humphrey Gilbert of Greenaway, a place a little above a mile from the town of Dartmouth, half-brother of Raleigh, was a lad of eighteen at Oxford. John Hawkins was perhaps courting Catherine Gonson, daughter of the Treasurer of the Navy; Sir Francis Drake was an apprentice in a boat which traded between Kent and the French coast, "the narrow seas were but a prison to him." Richard Grenville was fighting with

the Hungarians against the Turks; Martin Frobisher, from the West Riding, was working for a London merchant, sailing the northern shores of Africa and the Levant. The voice of Devon was as yet a boy's voice, but the winter of discontent was soon to pass away. The England of 1558 was full of imagination, seeing the rainbow of hope in the skies that promised brighter days.

CHAPTER V

ELIZABETHAN POLICY (1558-1603)

At the opening of Parliament in January, 1559, Sir Nicholas Bacon, who presided as Lord Keeper in the Lords, stated that "The Queen's desire was to unite the people of the realm in one uniform order; for this purpose they were to eschew contumelious and opprobrious words, as heretics, schismatics and papists. They were to make such laws as might tend to the establishment of God's church and the tranquillity of the realm, avoiding what might breed idolatry and superstition, yet taking heed by no licentious or loose handling to give occasion for contempt or irreverence. Laws were necessary also for reforming the civil order of the realm and repairing the losses and decays which the Crown had suffered. Calais was lost; trade was stopped; the coasts were unprotected. They must consider the need of self-preservation. The Queen assured them that she was not wedded to her own phantasy, nor for any private affection would quarrel with foreign princes; nothing was so dear to her as the goodwill of her people."

Before explaining how this policy was carried into execution, we may first consider the nature and government of the Commonwealth. The Government was in no sense democratic. Although arbitrary in its methods, it yet aimed at making an ordered state for the general welfare; it was not a Government of riches, but of rank and education. The Queen had absolute power to make peace or war on the advice only of her Privy Council, chosen at her pleasure from the ranks of the nobility, the knights and squires. The Council, bound by an oath of secrecy, consulted daily, or when need was, to give her the best advice they could. She personally participated in as many of their deliberations as she thought good, and disclosed to them such letters as were sent to her or to her secretaries. Practically Prime Minister of the

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country for forty-five years, Elizabeth unquestionably governed in accordance with public opinion. The nobility were then divided into two classes, the greater and lesser. In the first class were the dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons, and in the second the knights, esquires and gentlemen. No one could be created a baron unless he had a yearly revenue of a thousand pounds or a thousand marks at the least, and viscounts, earls, marquesses and dukes more, "according to the proportion of the degree and honour." Rank was not lost by loss of income, but "sometimes where a nobleman's estate had decayed by excess, and he was unable to maintain the honour, he was not admitted to the Upper House of Parliament although he kept his name of lord still." Knights were made, not born; they found their own horses in peace time, and usually in the wars. Esquires were persons entitled to a coat of arms; any man who had studied the law or had been at the University, or professed liberal sciences, was entitled to be styled a gentleman, and was then addressed as master. The gentleman was bound to display "a more manly courage and tokens of a better education, higher stomach and bountifuller liberality than others, and keep about him idle servants who should do nothing but wait upon him." Sir Thomas Smith, in his description of the Commonwealth, remarks: "It is not those which have to do with policy and government which will magnify themselves and go in higher buskins than their estate will bear, but they which are to be appointed." The citizens and burgesses had no share in government except in Parliament. The ancient cities appointed four, each borough two, burgesses to have voices in and to give their consent or dissent to legislation. These burgesses or deputies, though separately elected, were not solely the representatives of the town or county sending them, as is the case with the deputies of the United Provinces, or of the Swiss Cantons; but they represented the whole body of the nation. The yeomen, next to the nobility, knights and squires, possessed the greatest influence in the Commonwealth: "They were the good archers in times past and the stable troop of footmen that would rather die all than once abandon the knight or gentleman their captain." The gentlemen of France and the yeomen of England were both renowned, be-

cause in a battle of horsemen, France was many times too good for us, and we for them, on foot. The kings of England fought among the footmen, the kings of France among the horsemen. The yeoman was styled yeoman in legal documents, but amongst his associates he was termed "good man." The remaining class consisted of labourers, poor husbandmen, and merchants or retailers, who had no free land; they possessed little authority in the State, but they sat on inquests and juries, and were churchwardens and constables in the villages.

The House of Commons numbered three to four hundred members, consisting of knights from the shires, and burgesses from the cities and towns; the knights were elected by the gentlemen and yeomen, the burgesses by the citizens and burgesses of the cities and towns. Elections were open. Those who had the most of the voices of those present were chosen. It was usual on the first day of Parliament for the Sovereign to be present in the Lords, then below him sat the Chancellor, "his voice and orator." On one side of the House the archbishops and bishops were placed in order of rank, and on the other side the dukes and barons. "In the midst thereof upon woollsacks sitteth" the judges of the realm, the Master of the Rolls, the Secretaries of Estate, who were present to answer their knowledge in the law if any doubtful point occurred among the Lords. The Secretaries answered questions as to such letters and things as passed in Council of which they had knowledge. Great order was kept in the House of Commons, and "no reviling or nipping words were allowed"; if any member used them all the House would cry "it is against the Order." No member was allowed to speak irreverently or seditiously against the Prince or the Privy Council. Sir Thomas Smith states he had not only seen disorderly members interrupted, but on motion made they had been sent to the Tower. He praised the House of Commons for its greatest modesty and temperance of speech.

The Government of the counties was in the hands of the justices of the peace; originally three or four for each county. At Elizabeth's accession there were thirty or forty for a county, selected from the higher and lower nobility, dukes,

marquesses, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and such as be learned in the law. Certain of the justices on whom especial trust was reposed were named of the quorum, thus "where the commission was given to forty, thirty, and so at last it cometh to four or three, it was necessary for the performance to have likewise divers of the quorum." The justices assembled on suspicion of a war to take order for the safety of the shire; ordinarily they met to deal with questions of wages, excess of apparels, to stop unlawful games, see to the preservation of order in ale houses and taverns, punish idle and vagrant persons, and generally to look after the good government of the shire.

The administration of justice was carried out by the judges who sat in Westminster Hall, and who also went on circuit. On entering Westminster Hall were found three tribunals, or judges' seats; on the right hand the Common Pleas, which dealt with civil matters touching lands or contracts. At the upper end of the hall on the same hand was situated the King's Bench, which dealt with matters in which the Crown was concerned; on the left hand side was the Lord Chancellor's seat, associated with whom were the Master of the Rolls and certain men, learned in the Civil Law, called Masters of Chancery. Although the people were strongly attached to their Common Law, its maxims were taken so straitly that the judges could not depart from the tenour of the words; but the Chancellor had power to provide a remedy according to equity and reason and take such order "as to good conscience shall appertain," and for this reason Chancery was popularly known as the Court of Conscience. The judicial system effectually served the needs of the country, for although all pleading for thirty-six shires was done in a little more than one-quarter of a year in the whole, there was no delay of justice; the people lived in great equality of justice, the rich having no more advantage than the poor; the process and proceedings to the judgment were short, and the judgments peremptory. There were, however, many other courts existing in the country; the sheriff sat in every shire for three weeks, or longer if needed, and dealt with small matters not exceeding forty shillings in value; the bailiff also sat in certain hundreds and liberties;

there were courts in cities and other great towns where larger amounts were dealt with, but any suitor had the right to have his case removed to Westminster Hall.

There was another court different from any court on the Continent, which, during term time, sat at Westminster every Wednesday and Friday, unless either was the first or last day of term. It was known as the Star Chamber, either because it sat in a room full of windows, or because the roof of the chamber in which it (the King's Council) sat was ornamented with golden stars. The Lord Chancellor, members of the Privy Council and such other lords or barons who were not of the Privy Council but were in town, with the two chief justices, and the judges of England sat from eleven—Wolsey used to sit in Chancery until eleven and then go to the Star Chamber—to consider and hear complaints as to riots, unlawful assemblies, and so on, which came before them either because they were sent up by the justices for them to deal with, or because complaint was made directly. The King no longer acted as Supreme Justiciar in either of the common law courts, or even in the Court of Chancery, yet his Royal Prerogative of personally doing justice was still exercised in the *Curia Regis in Camera*, or Court of the King in private council. This court afterwards became the Star Chamber. It had to deal with the lawlessness that occurred during the Civil Wars, and disorders following the disbandment of discharged soldiers, who had been engaged in foreign wars in France, Scotland, or Ireland. Men of war, captains and soldiers then were so plentiful that, having "no extreme service wherewith to occupy their busy heads and hands accustomed to fight and quarrel, they must needs seek quarrels and contentions amongst themselves and become so ready to oppress right among their neighbours as they were wont before with praise of manhood to be in resisting injury offered by their enemies, so that our nation bled hereunto, and, upon that more insolent at home, and not easy to be governed by law and politic order, men of power beginning many frays, and the stronger by factions offering too much injury to the weaker, were occasions of making good laws, first of retainers that no man should have above a number in his

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livery or retinue, then of the enquiry of routs and riots at every sessions."

An offender, however powerful he was, might be summoned to attend the Star Chamber, where he was reasoned with, and remonstrated with, by the chief persons of England, one after another, "who handled him in that sort that what courage he had gave way." If he could not give a good answer to the accusation, and rarely could he find an excuse for open violence, he was sent to the Fleet prison, and kept there at his own expense, till he and his friends were willing to be ordered by reason. He was punished on release, and had to pay costs and damages to the party injured and a fine to the King. The matter in respect of which he had begun the riot and used violence was sent to the Common Law Courts.

On circuit, the judge on taking his seat explained the cause of his coming, "and gave a good lesson to the people." On each side of him sat the principal justices of the peace according to their rank; on a bench below them the rest of the justices with some other gentlemen and their clerks sat. At a table before them were accommodated the Custos Rotulorum, or Keeper of Records, the Escheator, the Under sheriff, and such clerks as could write. The Custos Rotulorum produced the indictments, then the prisoners were put to challenging the inquest, or jury. The term "jury" was not generally used, but the older word "inquest"; the word "quest," however, was in use. The prisoners were brought up in chains, and those refusing to plead were adjudged mute of malice, and condemned to *peine forte et dure*, or to be pressed; many preferred this doom to avoid the confiscation of their property, which followed a conviction of felony. The prisoner who pleaded was given in charge to the jury, who were sworn one by one. The crier of the court proclaimed, "Good men and true, if anyone can give evidence, or say anything against the prisoner, let him come forward for he standeth upon his deliverance." If none came forward the judge asked who had sent him to prison; if a justice of the peace had, he delivered up the examination of the prisoner, which he had taken with the names of those whom he had bound over to give evidence; if neither the witnesses nor the justice of the peace were

present the prisoner was acquitted. No counsel was allowed, and the jury were only permitted to have a copy of the indictment, which was explained to them by the clerk. If the prisoner was found guilty the good men of the jury were directed to inquire what lands and tenements the prisoner had at the time of the commission of the felony. If a verdict of guilty were returned the prisoner, when asked why sentence should not be passed upon him, could take the opportunity of demanding his benefit of clergy. He was entitled to this in the case of many felonies, but not for a highway robbery, an assault by night or house-breaking. On claiming the benefit of clergy the judge would hand the prisoner a psalter and ask him to read out a specified passage, the Neck-verse. The bishop's officer who was always present would be questioned by the judge, and would reply, either he reads it, or does not read it. If the reply was in the affirmative the prisoner was straightway burnt with a hot iron in the brawn of his hand, marked with the letter T for a theft, or M for manslaughter, and then handed over to the bishop's officer to be kept in the bishop's prison; after a time a jury of clerks would be called, and he would be set free. Benefit of clergy could not be claimed twice; if the marks were espied, and a prisoner was found guilty, he would be hanged. Sentence to the gallows was generally followed by execution the next day.

In the counties the sheriff was the principal officer; he was required to have regard to the King's justice and attend upon the commandments of the judges, and see fines were duly paid into the Treasury. For the collection of customs and subsidies there were particular receivers and collectors. Among minor judicial officers were the coroner and the constable. The coroner's principal duty was to inquire into the cause of death of any man, woman or child whether occurring by his own fault, or by that of another. If a body had been buried before his arrival, he would order it to be taken up and searched, and hold an inquest of twelve men, or more, of passers-by, whether strangers or inhabitants, empanelled to inquire into the cause of death. The inquest or panel was suffered to go at large, and was not kept locked up, as were other inquests or juries in cases of felony. After an adjournment an inquest would be ordered to meet again and

deliver a verdict. The constables were originally men of considerable weight and education ; they were of old the guardians of the peace, but their authority had passed to the justices of the peace. Their duty was to charge the people to keep the Prince's peace, arrest anybody on suspicion of theft, murder or manslaughter, and put him in the stocks, or in safe custody, till he could be examined by a justice of the peace. Every village had two constables, and many men were chosen of little ability and education. Owing to their illiteracy and the misuse of words they did not understand, they became objects of fun. They generally sought counsel of the justices.

The police organization for capturing criminals was by raising the hue and cry, the two words practically meaning the same thing ; anyone who was robbed, or any person who saw another robbed, could raise the hue and cry, and the constable of the village would then call on the parish to aid him to catch the thief. If the thief was not in the parish, he would proceed to the next parish, and raise the constable there ; in that way the hue and cry was carried from parish to parish, till the culprit was found. Any parish neglecting its duty and allowing a thief to depart, was not only liable to pay a fine to the King, but also to pay damages to the party robbed.

The revenue of the country belonged to the Crown ; it was collected in the Treasury or Exchequer, whose chief officer was the High Treasurer. He appointed the officers for the Mint, and other officers, such as the auditors or hearers, who were so called because accounts were then vouched for orally ; the Chancellor of the Exchequer was Under-Treasurer and Governor of the court under the Treasurer. The Exchequer was managed by barons, the chief of whom was called Chief Baron, other Governors being the Chancellor of the Exchequer, two Chamberlains and the Attorney-General. The Court of Exchequer existed in a room adjoining Westminster Hall, and when forming the Court of Exchequer Chamber it consisted of the chief Baron, the three Barons of the Exchequer, together with the Treasurer and Chancellor of the same, and sat as a Court of Appeal and in Equity.

In the Queen's speech she had made special reference to the necessity of avoiding religious controversy. Europe was

then divided by quarrels as to religion. Lord Bacon explains her attitude. She "not liking to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express acts and affirmations tempered her law so it restraineth only manifest disobedience in impugning and impeaching advisedly and maliciously Her Majesty's supreme power and extolling of foreign jurisdiction." She did not revive the old Act of Supremacy of Henry VIII's reign. Her early policy was tolerance generally grounded upon two principles, "the one that consciences are not to be forced but to be won and reduced by the force of truth, by the aid of time and the use of all good means of instruction or persuasion; the other, the causes of conscience when they exceed their bounds are grown to be matters of faction, leese their nature; and that sovereign princes ought distinctly to punish the practice or content though coloured with the pretences of conscience and religion."

A middle way was sought to unite Roman Catholics and Protestants on the platform of a national Church. Sir Anthony Cooke piloted an Act of Uniformity through the House. It is "A scheme of his own," wrote Bishop Jewell to Peter Martyr, who had fled from England during the reign of Mary and imbibed the Protestantism of Geneva, which was then much more advanced than England was prepared to support; subsequently Jewell understood the position of the English Church with its historical justification and became its chief supporter. His "*Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana*" was the case for the Church of England against the Church of Rome. Written in Latin for Continental circulation, it was translated into English by Sir Anthony Cooke's accomplished daughter, Lady Bacon, and published in 1564.

The first problems of statesmanship were to deliver England from her war with France and disentangle her from the Spanish Alliance; Scotland was allied to France. If Elizabeth was illegitimate owing to the invalidity of her father's divorce from Catherine of Aragon, and such defect was incurable by Act of Parliament, Mary Stuart, great granddaughter of Henry VII, was lawful Queen of England. Mary, when a child of six, was promised in marriage to the Dauphin of France, and her nuptials had been celebrated at the Church

of Notre-Dame a few months before Elizabeth's accession. Soon after 1559 she became Queen of both France and Scotland, and asserted her right to the English crown. For the time Elizabeth's support was indispensable to Spain; for should the crowns of England, France and Scotland be united, Spain's control of the Netherlands would be jeopardized; already the Reformation had made great progress there. London was Protestant, but Protestantism was not everywhere accepted; the year before the country was ostensibly Roman Catholic. Scotland was now racked by religious dissension, with the Protestant party in the ascendancy. England was tired, and entirely unprepared for war; diplomacy acquiesced in the retention of Calais by France, and France was satisfied. By obtaining a provision for its return at a later date under a forfeit of £500,000 English honour was placated. By dispensing with the Spanish alliance the country was freed from its unpopular entanglement, the Roman Catholic powers were not offended, neither was Protestantism alienated. By the peace of Cateau Cambresis, Elizabeth obtained a recognition of her right to the Crown. With Scotland diplomacy was equally skilful; the Scottish estates were supported in their task of expelling the French from Scotland, but no option was given the Scots but to accept Mary's sovereignty; from Mary in return was demanded the abandonment of her claim to the English crown. Whilst matters were in suspense pending Mary's confirmation, Elizabeth weighed a proposal of marriage made to her by the Earl of Arran, heir presumptive of Scotland, with the idea of uniting the two kingdoms, but two days after, when the news reached her that Mary, by the death of Francis II, her husband, was no longer Queen of France, she informed Arran that she was not disposed presently to marry. Policy was tortuous but defensive; Spain and France in combination could have crushed England, a combination once contemplated upon religious grounds to put down heresy. An open espousal of Protestantism would have involved England in a struggle with another power. The Crown was in debt to the Continent, paying from ten to twelve per cent. for loans. The first measures were the increase of the navy, promotion of new industries, and the improvement of the social conditions of the people.

In the early years of the reign, when Elizabeth and her Council played for time, Sir Thomas Gresham frequently crossed and recrossed from Antwerp to London, raising loans and constantly warning Cecil of the dangers of a Catholic coalition. When he was ambassador at the Court of the Duchess of Parma, Regent of the Netherlands, he was watchful of the Spaniards, even bribing officials for information, advising the Council to set up powder mills at home, and begging Cecil to keep all English ships within the realm. He spread news that two hundred were armed in readiness should Philip assist the French besieged in Leith. Arms and ammunition now reached the Tower consigned as velvet, and armour and ammunition were purchased in Germany. The long neglected mines of Keswick, whence there was not only sufficient matter to supply the wants of the country but abundance thereof to be transported to other countries, were reopened; great brass cannon were forged and gunpowder made; the pay of soldiers and their training allowances increased, and a powerful navy built.

The policy of naval construction began with an Act for the conservation of timber—oak, beech and ash—the felling of which for use as fuel was forbidden; but the prohibition applied only to timber which grew within fourteen miles of the sea, or of any parts of the rivers Thames, Severn, Wye, Humber, Dee, Tyne, Tees, Trent, or other river, creek or stream by which carriage was commonly used by boats or other vessels to any port of the sea. The Wealds of Sussex and Kent, and certain parishes in the Weald of Surrey where charcoal burning was in progress were not interfered with. Inland fisheries were protected, and the taking of salmon and trout out of season and the spawn and fry of fish hitherto commonly used for feeding swine and dogs forbidden. Fish days for finding occupation for men on the seas, a policy instituted by Henry VIII, were continued (“properly intended and meant politically for the increase of fishermen and mariners and repairing of port towns and navigation and not for any superstition to be maintained in the choice”). Wednesday was made an extra fish day, but one competent dish of flesh of one kind was allowed if were served at the same table and meal three full competent usual dishes of sea

fish of sundry kinds, fresh or salt. By enforced abstinence from flesh the people were not underfed. Lily in "Euphues and His England" wrote: "In number of dishes and changes of meat the nobility of England do exceed most, having all things that either may be bought for money or gotten for the season; gentlemen and merchants feed very finely, and a poor man it is that dineth with one dish and yet so content with a little that having half dined they say as it were in a proverb that they are as well satisfied as the Lord Mayor of London whom they think to fare best though he eat not the most." On a fish day in 1573 two gentlemen sat down to table and dined off ling, boiled smelts, buttered plaice, fried soles, fresh smelts, fresh salmon, fried rochets (the red gurnet); and as three competent dishes of sea fish were on the table they finished up with a fowl. A jury the same month were provided, probably by a successful litigant according to custom, with a dinner on a fish day of ling, fresh cod, buttered plaice, fried flounders, fresh salmon, rice potage, salads and eggs.

To prevent smuggling, an Act was introduced which regulated the Customs; goods were ordered to be discharged or laden by daylight in an open place after notice given to the customer (Customs officer). It was reckoned by Clough, the agent of Sir Thomas Gresham, that Customs should have produced five thousand a year more if worked under a proper system. At the Coronation of Elizabeth the London painters went out on strike for more money for painting the great conduit in Cheapside, and there was discontent caused by a rise in the price of necessities through the influx of gold and silver. The Parliament of 1562 passed a great Act codifying and amending all labour laws: "the wages and allowances in many of the older statutes were too small and not answerable to the time in view of the advancement of prices, and they could not be conveniently enforced without great grief and burden to the poor labourer and hired man." Rates of wages were ordered to be fixed by justices of the peace, assisted by "grave and discrete" persons, at the first Quarter Sessions after Easter; with distinction to be drawn between cases where the employers provided meat and drink and where they did not. When the justices had completed the lists of wages

they transmitted them to the Privy Council for approval, to be increased or diminished according to the plenty or scarcity of the country; subsequently the lists were posted upon market days in the cities and towns before midsummer. Security was given to the workman, for no person could be hired for less than a year, and a quarter's notice was required before the engagement could be terminated. An employer was prohibited from paying more or less than a fixed rate. There is a question, however, as to whether the sums specified were maximum or minimum rates; a distinctive feature of this legislation was the compulsion of unemployed labour; vagrancy and idleness were considerable. Gypsies had been expelled in 1554, they had given trouble by telling fortunes, practising palmistry and imposing on the credulous; they roamed the country in great bands and committed robberies; many so called gypsies, however, were Englishmen who had taken to a roving life. The drovers were organized, for many had taken up this occupation to escape obligations for military service. The right to work was conceded, but it carried with it the corresponding obligation to accept work. Men who were unmarried and men under thirty who the following year should marry, who had been brought up in certain specified crafts or trades or had used or exercised them for three years or more, were compelled to accept work in their craft or trade when it was offered them. Those, however, who possessed copyhold land of the yearly value of forty shillings, those whose goods were worth £10, or those who were retained in a household or who held a farm or holding in tillage where they might be employed in labour, and men already engaged in husbandry were exempted. The first Poor Law supplemented this legislation; its object was to provide funds by voluntary offerings through the churches for the poor, but later power was given to insist upon the payment of weekly contributions from those who neglected their duty, by assessing a sum to be paid by each householder.

Between the ages of twelve and sixty persons who were not otherwise employed were required to serve in husbandry during the corn harvest; artificers were liable, and unmarried women between the ages of twelve and forty. An employer putting away a servant without giving a quarter's notice,

except for good cause allowed by two justices and proved by two witnesses, was fined and bound over, and workmen who unjustifiably left their employment were punished. When a workman left his master he was entitled to a testimonial, setting out his lawful occupation and the town or parish where he worked before his departure; it was registered by the parson, vicar or curate of the parish in which he had resided, and a fee of twopence charged. No person could be employed without producing it; if work was insufficient a testimonial was given to enable work to be sought at harvest time. Every boy was taught a trade. The London custom had hitherto provided for the binding of apprentices for seven years; it was applied to the whole country and could be continued till the apprentice reached the age of twenty-four, when it was considered that the apprentice would have sufficient judgment to look after his own affairs. The extension of time applied only to cases where the trade was taught in a corporate town. Merchants were not permitted to take as apprentices any but sons of men who possessed freeholds of the yearly value of forty shillings at the least—a provision which was devised in the interest of the apprentice with regard to the ability of his father to start him in business when his apprenticeship was out. A master could not take an unlimited number of apprentices; if three were taken one journeyman was required at the least.

The system lasted many years, and a statute of James I (1604) expressly declared it worked well although not duly put into execution. Wages, for instance, had not been rated according to the political intention of the Act, having regard to the plenty, scarcity and necessity of the times, and justices had not met in some places to fix wages, consequently there had been no rating. This statute amended the law by empowering the sheriffs and mayors to proclaim the rates of wages without waiting for the appointment of the Privy Council. Some masters, particularly clothiers, had neglected to observe the Act; "if any clothier or other should refuse to obey the Order rate and assessment of wages and not pay so much or so great wages to their weavers, spinsters, workmen or workwomen as were set down and appointed, every offender should pay for each offence ten shillings to the party

grieved." The clothing trade had now become exceedingly prosperous, many clothiers were justices of the peace. They were forbidden to adjudicate in any cases respecting the wages of weavers, tuckers, spinsters or other artisans who depended on the making of cloth. Where there were not above two justices who were not clothiers in a place, the assessment was handed over to the major part of the Common Council precinct or liberty and such justices as were not clothiers.

Industrial policy favoured the production of English goods by English workmen. The Statute, 5 Eliz., cap. 5, passed on the demand of the artificers of England (as well within the City of London as of other cities, towns and boroughs), the girdlers, cutlers, sadlers, glovers, point makers, and other handicraftsmen, stated by reason of the abundance of foreign wares coming into the country artificers were less occupied and utterly impoverished, and the youth not trained, whereby the said faculties and exquisite knowledge were like in short time to decay, other countries notably enriched and the people thereof well set to work to the great discouragement of the skilful workmen of the realm. To stimulate the woollen trade the wearing of a woollen cap on Sundays and holy days, except when travelling, was made compulsory on every person above the age of seven. The cap was wool knit, thick dressed, and made by Cappers; and maids, ladies, gentlewomen and nobles only were excepted from wearing it. The Act was repealed in 1597 when the wearing of all sorts of caps had been made popular :

HABERDASHER : "Here is the cap your worship did bespeak."

PETRUCHIO : "Why, this was moulded on a porringer ; a velvet dish ; fie, fie ! 'tis lewd and filthy ; why, 'tis a cockle or a walnut shell, a knack, a toy, a trick, a baby's cap ; away with it ; come, let me have a bigger."

KATHARINA : "I'll have no bigger ; this doth fit the time ; and gentlewomen wear such caps as these."

(Taming of the Shrew, Act IV. Sc. 3.)

Constant encouragement was given to the building up of new industries; some introduced by Huguenots, others by

Walloons. Attempts were made, though unsuccessfully, to establish the linen trade. Within the shadow of the great cathedral at Canterbury, at Sandwich and at Norwich, which was not yet recovered from the effects of Kett's rebellion, new branches of the woollen industry, and manufactures of worsted, serges and baizes were started, and needle and parchment making instituted. Probably the beginnings of the cotton industry of Lancashire date from the decline of Antwerp, to whose port the raw material had been brought from Egypt.

The breeding of horses was profitable. Export had been prohibited by an Act of Edward VI, but any subject about to travel abroad had the privilege of shipping three horses for his own use but not for sale, and his declaration on oath was required by the Custom House officers; but the declaration had been disregarded, horses were sold abroad, and the privilege was withdrawn.

Much land had been laid down to pasture for the rearing of sheep, so towns had decayed and villages wasted. The rebuilding or, as it was termed, the re-edifying of towns began in 1535, when Nottingham, Gloucester, Northampton and other places were rebuilt; to decay a town, hamlet, house of husbandry or convert tillage into pasture was an offence, and the immediate freeholder was put in possession of a moiety of the offenders' land, until the offence was reformed. Agriculture had been dealt with by statutes of Edward VI, and Philip and Mary, and commissioners appointed, authorized to bind offenders over who converted tillage into pasture; power was given to destroy or diminish rabbits in a ground in or near any cornfield not being lawful warren. The first of the Elizabethan land statutes enacted that land in tillage so kept for four years previously should "be eared and kept in tillage according to the nature of the soil and the custom of the country by the occupier, but land was excepted where used for the only keeping of the occupier's own horses, draught oxen or other cattle for the only victuals to be spent in his own house so that he hath not other sufficient pasture." Lands used for parks and rabbit warrens were excepted. In 1597 this Act was repealed, when it was enacted that arable land converted into pasture since the beginning of the reign

should be reconverted to tillage. In 1592 Lord Bacon wrote : "For grain and all victuals there cannot be more evident proof of plenty than this, that whereas England was wont to be fed by other countries in the East, it sufficeth now to feed other countries so as we do many times transport and serve sundry foreign countries ; yet there was never the like multitude of people who eateth within the realm. Another evident proof thereof may be that the good yields of corn which had been, together with some toleration of vent, have of late times invitedly enticed men to break up more ground and to convert it to tillage than all the penal laws for that purpose made and enacted than ever by compulsion effect. A third proof may be that the prices of grain and victual were never of late years more reasonable."

The year after Elizabeth's death wheat was allowed to be exported when under 26s. 8d. a quarter, peas, beans and rye when under 15s., and barley and malt 14s. Four years before Elizabeth ascended the throne corn, butter and cheese were allowed to be exported when the common price of corn did not exceed 6s. 8d. a quarter, rye 4s., and barley 3s. The improvement of roads began in 1555. In 1562 a fresh Act was passed. By the first of these Acts four days were appointed in every year for road-making ; by the latter, six. Hitherto the roads had been "very noisome, tedious to travel in, dangerous to passengers and traffic." The constables and churchwardens informed the parishioners of their parishes of days when their services were required for road-making. The notices were given openly in the churches on the Sunday following Easter. Every occupier of ploughland and every person who kept a draught or plough was bound to send to an appointed place at an appointed time one team or cart furnished with oxen, horses or other cattle with necessities and two able-bodied men ; and every householder, cottager or labourer with ability to labour, except servants on yearly hiring, were required to attend in person or send a labourer to work with shovel, spade, pick and mattock for eight hours. Those failing to attend were fined. Road supervisors were authorized to take rubbish and stones from quarries, and gravel, sand or cinders from anywhere within the parish, and to turn watercourses into other ground,

and see to the fencing of dykes and ditches adjoining the high or common fareing way and the cutting of trees and bushes.

Many new cottages were built, but all building, using or rebuilding was forbidden unless owners laid out four acres of adjacent lands to be continuously used with them. One family only might inhabit a cottage; except cottages which were inhabited by miners or quarrymen, or cottages occupied by sailors near the sea. But Elizabethan England, growing richer, many great houses were built throughout the country. "There was never," wrote Lord Bacon, "the like number of fair and stately houses as has been built and set up from the ground, insomuch that there have been reckoned in one shire that is not great to the number of thirty-three, whereof the meanest was never built for £2,000. There was never the like treasures of goodly gardens and orchards, walks, pools and parks as do adorn almost every mansion house. There was never the like quantity of plate, jewels, sumptuous moveables and stuff as is now within the realm."

A feature of policy was the sedulous care which was displayed for the safety of the realm. Works, such as are now known as key industries, were undertaken, not by the Crown, for the Queen had neither means nor inclination to undertake them, but she granted patents, for a limited period, to those who were willing to find the capital and undertake the risk. Thus in 1563 the sole right was given to Master William Humphrey, Christopher Schutz and others to make the mixed metal called latteen or brass; a patent was granted to Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Duke of Norfolk, Sir William Cecil and others for a company, called the Society for the Mineral and Battery Works. These patents or monopolies only gave their possessors the right to produce exclusively certain articles, to secure them from a possible loss of capital during the initial stages of working. In the later years of the reign patents became excessive and extended far beyond the necessities of defence. The insufficient revenue of the Crown was the excuse, and these grants were regarded as sources of revenue. Elizabeth was careful even to parsimony, and during her reign of forty-five years probably did not spend more than three million pounds. When a monopoly was granted, its

validity was still open to question; thus in 1567, when Mr. Hastings of the Court had sought a grant to make frizadoes, a silk plush or fine kind of frieze, and to restrain others from making them, the clothiers of Coxall proved to the Council and some learned in the law that they were in the habit of making them before, though not with such craft. It was decided that slight difference did not justify restraining the clothiers of Coxall. In the case of *Darcy v. Allein* the validity of a patent for selling playing cards granted to Philip Bowes, his factors and assigns, as well denizens as strangers was questioned. The patent had provided that Bowes might buy and provide beyond the seas playing cards and cause them to be brought into England and sold and distributed. The independence of the argument used in court, no less than the reasons advanced, was striking. It was said: "If the Queen cannot to maintain her war take from her subjects twelve pence but by Parliament, much less may she take moderate recreation from all subjects which hath continued so long and so universal in every country town and household, but to punish the abuse is necessary, for common weals were not made for kings but kings for common weals." Now Darcy hath power to bring all from beyond the seas and set to work only strangers be they (the cards) good, be they bad, be they false, be they true, be they dear or good cheap, you must buy all of him and his assignees. "He may take all the harvest and vintage of this trade from the natural subjects and give it to strangers, and not leave so much as the gleanings of the harvest or latter grapes of the vintage for natural born subjects, which is a hateful thing."

With the growth of industries England ceased to desire the presence of the Hanse merchants who had carried on business in the country for many years. From the very beginning of the reign European trade was undergoing great changes. A little before the Queen's accession the Russians had conquered Narva and acquired an opening into the Baltic. Before then they had been mainly dependent upon the Hanse merchants to export their commodities. After its acquisition English, Dutch and French merchants moved there, and the Hanse merchants followed, preferring this town to Reval, where they had been settled, as nearer to

their ancient trading home at Novgorod, whence they had been expelled by the Russians. Nevertheless, the carrying trade fell from their grasp, and the bulk from Denmark, Eastland, Livonia and Poland was now captured by the Dutch.

An ancient toll of a rose noble had been hitherto levied by the King of Denmark on every sail which passed through the Sound; this had been construed as a toll on every ship, by literal interpretation the toll was greatly increased. The King of Denmark had also laid duties on the export of corn and merchandise. This compelled the League to abandon the trade with Norway and give up its house in Bergen. Additional misfortunes accumulated with the decline of Bruges, and the League quitted it for Dort and afterwards for Antwerp, which became a city of world importance, the gateway for English exports, particularly cloths, which carried there were distributed through Germany. Cloth was then a rare and curious thing of high price in Germany. In the reign of Edward VI the special privileges of the Hanse merchants were taken away and a duty of twenty per cent. imposed on their imports and exports; but Mary, in 1554, restored their privileges. At first Elizabeth did not interfere with them; no doubt she acted on the advice of the City till assured of the country's ability to supply itself with all the goods and products that it required, and she then expelled them.

Foreign trade was closely connected with foreign policy and the shifting position in Europe. It is necessary to turn to this to understand the crisis which brought about the attempted invasion of England by the Spanish Armada.

CHAPTER VI

ELIZABETHAN POLICY (*continued*)

IN 1558 the Netherlands had been united under the Crown of Spain. Stretching from Gravelines, close to Calais, they included Holland, Belgium and a portion of North-Eastern France. Fortune had made Charles V their monarch, coming to him in right of his grandmother Mary of Burgundy—"the richest mayde of her time." In 1543 he had brought the Netherlands under his control. They were the rich and busy centres of the trade and industry of Northern Europe.

In South-Eastern Europe the Turks were still continuing their advance. In the early part of the century their progress terrified Central Europe, but held up by the barrier towns of Hungary, and defeated under the walls of Vienna, they had been unable to make further headway. In the Mediterranean, Venice trembled on her Adriatic throne, for the Crescent predominated in Asia Minor. It had overrun Egypt and swept along the northern shores of the Mediterranean. Greece, Macedonia, Bosnia, Serbia, Moldavia and Wallachia in turn had all yielded to their turbaned conquerors. Though checked at Malta in 1565, Cyprus had fallen with its Venetian garrisons, who were enslaved or put to torture and death. Pope Pius V, with tearful eyes, turned to Europe for assistance. The Protestant powers stood neutral, engrossed with the spectacle of a devastated Netherlands. In answer to the Pope's appeal, in 1571 a fleet, manned by Spanish and Greek refugees, Venetian and Papal sailors, encountered the Turkish fleet off Lepanto, where was fought the greatest naval battle of the century. Don John of Austria, displaying the Cross to his assembled fleet, in person led the attack—30,000 Turks were slain or captured and 5,000 Christians released from the galleys. Europe joyfully re-echoed the Pope's words, "*fuit homo missus a Deo cui nomen erat Joannes.*" The victory, however, was

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not pursued; Philip II of Spain was cold, his heart was in the Netherlands; four years before (1567) Alva had replaced the Duchess of Parma as their governor. At once he instituted what became known as the Bloody Council, and as a result a hundred thousand Dutch and Walloons fled the country. Many of them sought shelter in England; the provinces of Holland and Zealand revolted from the Spaniards and the tyranny of Alva, and in 1572 flew to arms. Of Alva's executioners, it was said that they shed more blood than his soldiers, and Holland bitterly drank the cup of sorrow. "Philip," wrote Lord Bacon, "after he was settled in his kingdom and freed from some fear of the Turks, revolving his father's design in aspiring to the monarchy of Europe, casting his eye principally upon the two potent kingdoms of France and England, and remembering how his father had once promised with himself the conquest of the one, and how himself by marriage had some possession of the other, and seeing that diversity of religion was entered into both these realms, and that France was fallen unto princes weak and in minority, and England under the government of a lady in whom he did not expect that policy of government, magnanimity and felicity which since he hath proved," concluded "that his Low Countries were the aptest place both for ports and shipping in respect of England, and for situation in respect of France, having goodly frontier towns upon that realm, and joining also upon Germany (whereby they might receive in at pleasure any forces of Almaines), to annoy and offend either kingdom. The impediment was the inclination of the people which, receiving a wonderful commodity of trades out of both realms, especially England, and having been in ancient league and confederacy with one nation, and having been also homagers unto France, he knew would be in no wise disposed to either war, whereupon he resolved to reduce them to a martial government, like unto that which he had established in Naples and Milan, upon which suppression of their liberties ensued the defection of those provinces."

The year Alva went to the Netherlands a religious war raged in France between Catholics and Huguenots. In 1568 the Scottish Queen, the beautiful Mary Stuart, fled to Eng-

land and found herself a prisoner. Leaving France a widow, she afterwards married her cousin Darnley, who was a man too jealous to be entrusted with her far-reaching schemes and of insufficient capacity to assist her. In swift succession tragedy followed tragedy; her favourite Rizzio was assassinated, her husband Darnley murdered. She married again. Bothwell carried her off and became her third husband. Then followed the Scottish revolt, the Battle of Carberry Hill, her defeat, abdication and imprisonment at Loch Leven. Next her escape and flight across the Solway Firth to England. As she was accused of being privy to the murder of Darnley, Elizabeth, on Cecil's advice, declined to receive her till she had cleared herself from the charge. A commission sat; the letters which had passed between her and Bothwell were produced from a casket to show her guilt; she was detained in Bolton Castle a prisoner. Philip said of her, "She is the one gate through which religion can enter England, all other gates are closed." Then began plots which aimed at the death of the English Queen and the destruction of the Commonwealth. Elizabeth was not strong; indeed, her death from natural causes had been feared. "But what would her death have meant," wrote Lord Burleigh to Walsingham in 1567, referring to her illness. "Such a matter will draw me to the end of my wits." In 1572, when she was again ill, Sir Thomas Smith wrote, "If at that time God had taken from the stay of the Commonwealth and hope of their repose that lanthorn of the light next to God whom to follow nor certainly where to light another candle (they knew not)."

Some years before a Roman Catholic agitation had sprung up. Allen, Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, the leader of the movement, had fled to Flanders. Secretly returning to Lancashire he converted many to his views, so that, Strype records, religion in Lancashire and thereabouts went backward; once more in Flanders, Allen established a seminary at Douai to educate English students abroad in theology. Expelled from Douai, he re-established a college at Rheims, with a branch at Rome, controlled by the Society of Jesus. Philip plotted to land an army of ten thousand men at Harwich to assist a conspiracy formed to put Mary on the throne and marry her to the Duke of Norfolk. The Northern Rebellion

broke out; it failed, many Catholics refusing to join it. It was represented to the Pope that he might assist the Catholics by excommunicating Elizabeth; this he did, and in the May of 1570 John Felton, whose wife had been a maid of honour to the Queen of Scotland, affixed the Papal Bull to the Bishop of London's palace. In the conspiracy Ridolfi, a Florentine banker, played an important part; he received 12,000 crowns from the Pope, with a promise of 10,000 to follow if all went well. By the Papal Bull the Queen's authority over her Roman Catholic subjects was undermined, and all Acts done by her subsequent to her excommunication were declared void. "No war can lawfully be denounced or waged by her, though otherwise in itself it were most just; the Pope's sovereign authority and wisdom may best instruct and warrant the Christian soldier how far, when and where, either at home or abroad, in civil or foreign wars made against his enemies or rebels of God's church, he may and must break with his temporal sovereign and obey God and his spiritual superior." Allen wrote of Philip: "He has a better title to the Crown of England than anyone else; if he seizes upon the kingdom in so just and praiseworthy a war the title of conquest will be legitimate." "Those who adhered to her cause would be defending their own present destruction and eternal shame, a most unjust usurper, an open perjurer of all nations, an infamous, depraved excommunicate heretic, the very shame of her sex and princely name, the chief spectacle of sin and abomination in this her age, and the only poison, calamity and destruction of our noble church and country."

Lord Bacon says the King of Spain never rested from stirring up trouble, but the Duke of Alva understood it to be for his own benefit. Alva feared if Elizabeth were overthrown England might fall to the French. There was no reckoning made of the Queen of Scots; Philip held it impossible to recover the Low Country unless he had England, and "because he found it a difficult matter to set upon England, his first enterprise was to set upon Ireland."

With rebellions in Ireland and constant conspiracies against the life of their Queen the English people grew exasperated, and the Queen's policy but reflected public opinion.

Conspiracy was closely linked with foreign invasion, and the presence of Mary Queen of Scots. Anthony Babington, "young, rich, witty and learned above the expectation of his years," was a member of a secret society for the protection and maintenance of Jesuit missionaries and organizer of a plot for a rising in England, the murder of the Queen, the release of Mary and a foreign invasion. At one time he was Mary's page, and he entered into secret communication with her and Ballard, a Jesuit priest from Rheims, who came to England disguised as a soldier bearing "poisoned fruit for him to taste with flavour of the heroic virtues of the Scots Queen," at a time when it was said "every tear that she dropped put a sword into the hands of the Pope and the Spaniard." The plot was discovered by the skill of Walsingham; Babington, however, escaped to St. John's Wood, and there disguised himself by rubbing his face with the green husks of walnuts and cutting off his hair. When he and his associates were arrested the citizens of London marched at night through the streets singing psalms in the light of bonfires that they had lit. The papers of the Scottish Queen were seized, and sixty tables of secret characters were found, with many promises of support from English nobles. When Elizabeth saw their names, she exclaimed, "*Video, taceo.*" Mary was tried before thirty-six judges in the great hall of Fotheringhay Castle, where her own letters proved her chief accusers. She was found guilty, and on February 8, 1587, executed in the forty-fifth year of her age. "In fair possibility of spinning the thread of her life to a greater length had fate been as propitious to her as nature." Her death, however, was not finally resolved upon till the life of Elizabeth had been again threatened.

The dangers to the realm led to strengthening of the laws against the Roman Catholics. Lord Bacon says: "The Queen did not do this till she discovered in the King of Spain an intention to invade her dominions, and that a principal point of the plot was to prepare a party within the realm that might adhere to the foreigner, and that the seminaries began to blossom and to send forth daily priests and professed men who should by vow taken at Shrift reconcile her subjects from their obedience, yea, and bind many of

them to attempt against her Majesty's sacred person; and that by the poison they spread the humours of most Papists were altered, and that they were no more Papists in conscience but Papists in treasonable faction; then there were new laws made for the punishment of such as should submit themselves to such reconcilements, or renunciations of obedience. And because it was a treason carried in the clouds and in wonderful secrecy and came seldom to light, and there was no presumption thereof so great as the recusance to come to Divine service, because it was set down by their decrees that 'to come to church before reconcilment was to live in schism, but to come to church after reconcilment was absolutely heretical and damnable,' therefore there were added new laws containing a punishment pecuniary against such recusants, not to enforce conscience but to enfeeble and impoverish those of whom it rested indifferent and ambiguous where they were reconciled or no. And when notwithstanding all this provision, this poison was dispersed so secretly as that there was no means to stay it, but to restrain the merchants that brought it in, then was there lastly added a law whereby such seditious priests of the new erection were exiled, and those that were at that time within the land shipped over, and so commanded to keep hence on pain of treason."

The strengthening of the laws against the Roman Catholics led to the strengthening of the laws against those who could not conform to the Established Church. These were the men of the Reform Party who desired to introduce innovations into the service of the Church of England. Many of them were voluntary exiles and lived on the Continent during the Marian persecution, having sought refuge in Geneva, Zurich and Basle. They were opposed to the making of the sign of the Cross in baptism, to music and singing in churches, kneeling at the Communion; the use of the marriage ring, the surplice, and other observances. Lord Bacon says of this Reform movement, known as the Puritan^r: "The beginnings were modest but the extremes were violent, so as there is almost as greater a distance now from itself as was at first one from the other." The Church of England was considered Protestant as it was anti-Roman Catholic. Puritanism therefore did not substantially affect political

unity, for political unity was essential for national defence. The Reformers had many adherents amongst Elizabeth's Ministers; their greatest strength, however, was drawn from London. At first the Congregationalists and Presbyterians were nearly, if not quite, united, and a great number of ministers of the Church of England fully sympathized with their aims; this arose from the number of livings in the hands of lay patrons. For instance, in Norfolk, in a total of 864 parishes, lay patrons controlled 688, and in Suffolk 471 out of 554. Inclining to Presbyterian views, they naturally appointed to their livings those who sympathized with them. Presbyterianism considered the government of the Church of Christ should be carried on by Presbyteries, each parish should have one consisting of the minister, elders and deacons; the minister be chosen by the people. The civil magistrates should exercise no authority over Ecclesiastical matters, but the Church should be regulated and the State governed by the laws of God as found in Scripture. Twelve parishes grouped together formed a classis to deal with parish matters. Parishes chose members, or elders, who formed the provincial synod or council. The synods chose their delegates who formed the National Synod, or General Assembly. All ecclesiastical authority was vested in these bodies, and the Prince was no more than an ordinary member of the Church; he was not, as in the Church of England system, its head. His duty was to obey, and not to declare or formulate, the decrees of the Church. The Reform movement did not at first seek to abolish archbishops, bishops, archdeacons and ministers, but to assist them in governing the Church by adding eight or twelve persons, pastors, deacons, grave and godly men of worship, justices of the peace and laymen as a council. The gathering of laymen under a minister under the Presbyterian system was termed the prayer meeting; the assemblage of ministers to discuss scripture, their prophesyings; and the meetings of ministers, not in orders, for the study of scripture, for fasts, and to exercise control over one another in matters of conduct, the conference. This system, known as the Classical, had a good deal to recommend it, in that it gave the laity some control over Church affairs. It did not, however, work well. A few instances may be quoted.

At the Dedham Classis such subjects were discussed as whether a man justly divorced should marry again, and whether a man of twenty-four should marry a woman of fifty? In 1573 Travers formulated his book of discipline; originally written in Latin, it was translated into English, and revised and published by Travers and Cartwright. "When it came to Northampton to be subscribed unto, there was a general censuring used amongst the brethren there, as it were to sanctify themselves partly by sustaining a kind of penance and reproof for their former conformity to the orders of the Church established by Her Majesty, and other matters of controversy, and partly to prepare their minds for the devout accepting of the aforesaid book, in which course of censuring used at that time there was such ripping up one another's life, even from their youth, as that they came into great bitterness, with many reviling terms amongst themselves, one growing thereby odious to another and some did therefore utterly forsake these assemblies." The Congregationalists ultimately separated themselves from the Presbyterians, becoming a distinct sect; whilst adopting the classical principle they made no attempt at a central government. Toleration was by no means deemed a virtue by these religious bodies, but was generally regarded as a sign of weakness. If we compare the position taken up by modern Nonconformity with that adopted in the time of Elizabeth, we see this essential difference: that modern Nonconformity claims for itself, and extends to all denominations, the principle of toleration; the older Nonconformity, in common with all other Churches, denied it.

The growth of the Puritan movement brought about far-reaching changes in the government of the country, but at a later period; it is of importance, however, to here mark its beginnings. All parties were then united in considering that the Commonwealth should be a religious community, but disunited as to the form of religion it should take. Although toleration did not exist, nor was it a part of any creed, considerable excuse may be made for its absence. In the early part of the reign the Elizabethan vividly remembered the fatal fires of Smithfield and the terrible incidents which had accompanied the Marian persecution. Later, refugees from

the Continent told him pitiful stories of the persecution that raged in the Netherlands. In 1572 intelligence arrived of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, when the Paris streets re-echoed with the shouts of a furious soldiery, and the shrieks, sobs and cries of murdered Huguenots. He shivered with horror at the orgy of cruelty, but melted into pity for the hapless victims. The Court draped itself in mourning, and when the French ambassador appeared the Council and nobility averted their faces. A clamorous cry arose for war, and volunteers and money were freely proffered the Queen; twelve thousand foot and four thousand horse to be transported across the seas free of charge and kept there for six months. Elizabeth, however, did not openly interfere, nor did she openly go to the assistance of the Huguenots till later.

Although punishments for political offences were intensely barbarous, they were inflicted only upon those who attempted to subvert the Government of the country. Loyal Roman Catholics were generally left alone, and Elizabeth chose Lord Howard of Effingham, a Roman Catholic, as Lord High Admiral of the Fleet at the time of the Armada. The Queen was by no means cruel by nature. Lord Bacon says she frequently intervened to release offenders by exercising her prerogative of pardon; nor was the Commonwealth cruel. Such words as mercy and pity constantly recur in the vocabulary of Shakespeare; even coursing and hunting found strong opponents. Sometimes in the biographies of the men and women of the time we get glimpses of family life which give us some understanding of the real England. Here is one of Sir Philip Sidney, a public schoolboy at Shrewsbury School, afterwards the close friend of Hakluyt, Carew and Camden at Christ Church, Oxford. No robust boy, but subject to sickness; "his health is delicate," wrote his uncle Leicester to Archbishop Parker. "May a dispensation be granted my boy from eating fish during Lent?" During his first year at Oxford Sir William Cecil wrote to Philip's father, Sir Henry Sidney, reproaching him "for carrying away your son and my scholar from Oxford." A happy family party gathered in 1568 at Hampton Court, where young Sidney spent his Christmas vacation with the

Cecils. "He is worthy to be beloved, and I do love him as my own," was the great statesman's verdict.

England enjoyed a great peace for many long years, during which the torches of intolerance cast their baleful glare over the Continent. The Queen loved peace. Using her woman's wits to secure it she often dallied with her many foreign suitors, who were always only too ready to offer her their hands. Sometimes, however, she inspired her English favourites with hopes, and some addressed her in lavish terms of adulation and passionate love.

The general prosperity increased; exchange improved, money became cheaper. Things the Englishman had never used before were imported. Paper mills were built, and the manufacture of gunpowder began near Hounslow; but wainscoting, glass and even paving stones were still brought from abroad; with salt tongues and Bologna sausages as delicacies for the table. Taxation was light and the people rejoiced, for they had been led half-starved from a barren wilderness into a land of comparative comfort. This prosperity, however, was only relative to previous periods; for none had ever before endured so long or had proved so beneficial to all classes.

From the time of Henry VIII such an exchange was badly needed, a realization which led Sir Thomas Gresham to build the Royal Exchange. In the "Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham" Burgon says, "Rarely do ancient documents furnish us with such a picture of ancient manners as the record of the manner in which on February 9, 1565, Sir Thomas Gresham at the house of Alderman Rivers, in company with Sir Wm. Garrard, Sir Wm. Cheeton, Thomas Rowe and other citizens, 'most frankly and lovingly promised' that within a month after the opening of the Burse (*Byrsa*, or *Burse*: mediæval Latin, expressing a *purse*, but more largely a place of treasure) he would present it in equal moieties to the City and the Mercers Company. In token of his sincerity he thereupon gave his hand to Sir W. Garrard, and in the presence of the company 'drank a carouse' to Thomas Rowe." In 1566 London saw the laying of the foundation stone of a bourse or exchange, which was formally opened by the Queen on January 23, 1570-71. At the hours of six o'clock and twelve noon a bell, ringing from

the square tower at the south entrance, regularly summoned the merchants to assemble to discuss business.

Summer and winter round the London worker worked hard, from daybreak to dusk, with certain hours set apart for meals. During the heats half an hour extra was allowed for rest; but holidays were numerous. In the social life of England, Lily in "Euphues" has presented us with flattering portraits of English women, alleging their superiority to those of other nations: "It is as rare to see a beautiful woman in England without vertue, as to see a faire woman in Italy without pride; courteous they are without coyness, but not without a care, amiable without pride but not without courtliness, merry without curiositie but not without measure. I find the best but indifferent, and comparing both countries with ye ladies of England I accompt them at stark nought." A student of fashions would note that ladies had small books attached to their girdles, and wore chains of fancy glass round their necks, they fanned themselves with fans in which little looking-glasses were inset; nursed Maltese lapdogs, and were apt to nickname their male acquaintances. The leisured classes read a great deal, but much current literature had but a short life. "We commonly see the book that at Easter lyeth bound on the stationer's stall, at Christmas to be broken in the haberdasher's shop." Classical literature was much in favour with the educated classes, and classical quotations very popular. In 1579 North published his "Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans," which is generally known as "Plutarch's Lives," a famous work in which Shakespeare delved.

Lily admonished the ladies not to be too proud: "Because you are brave disdain not those that are base. Think with yourselves that russet coats have their Christendom, that the sun at his height shineth as well upon coarse carsie as cloth of tissue, though you have pearls in your ears, jewels in your breast, precious stones on your fingers, yet disdain not the stones in the street which, although they are nothing so noble yet they are much more necessary." The ordinary man probably took no great interest in State affairs, he would tell you that one side of his leather apron was as good as another; he bore, however, strong prejudices against

Spain and the Jesuits. He was fond of self-depreciation, which puzzled Euphues, "For this is strange, and yet how true it is, that it is always incident to an Englishman to think worse of his own nation, either in learning, experience, common reason or wit, preferring always the stranger rather for the name than the wisdom."

England for years was on good terms with France. Sir Philip Sidney in 1584 was a strong supporter of a French alliance. Fighting against Spain with English forces at Zutphen, he received on October 7, 1586, the wound from which he died. Holland was grateful for the assistance given her, and on his death the States General eagerly desired that he should be buried in their land, offering to spend half a ton of gold on a memorial to him, but England desired that English earth should cover him. Accordingly his body was embalmed and taken to Flushing; twelve hundred soldiers, with a great concourse of Dutch burghers, accompanied his coffin till it was placed on board his own vessel, the *Black Prince*, with weeping and lamentation. The mourning ship then weighed anchor with sails of black, tackling and other furniture all coloured black, with black cloth hanging about her bearing the escutcheons of the dead hero's arms. On reaching the Thames she moored at the Tower; subsequently a public funeral took place at which 700 mourners attended. The Lord Mayor and 300 men of the trained bands brought up the rear of a long procession, in which representatives of each of the Dutch provinces walked on the last journey to Old St. Paul's.

With Holland grateful and France not unfriendly, we may stay to explain the growth of the royal influence.

No monarch ever understood better the art of acquiring popularity than Elizabeth. From the history of the many progresses that she made through the country we may extract the details of a few. In 1564 she rode into Cambridge "wearing a gown of black velvet pinked, a call upon her head set with pearls and pretious stones; her hat spangled with gold, with a bush of feathers." The orator of King's College eulogized her; she shook her head and bit her lips and fingers, but on his praising virginity, she said: "God's blessing on thine heart." Begged to say something

in Latin to the University, she answered, if she might speak her mind in English she wouldn't stick at the matter; but understanding it was not allowed she would now ask Cecil, Chancellor of the University, to say something; he was her mouth. Sir William Cecil said no. He was the University's mouth, not hers. The Bishop of Ely next entreated her for only three words in Latin. When she at once complied by delivering a speech in Latin which astonished her hearers: "There is one thing," she said, "I will have you all remember, that there will be no directer nor fitter course either to make your fortune or to procure the favour of your Prince than as you have begun to ply your studies diligently, which that you would do I beg and beseech you all. This morning I have beheld your sumptuous edifices erected by several most illustrious princes, my ancestors, for the sake of learning, and in seeing them a grief seized me and those anxieties of mind which are said once to have caught hold of Alexander the Great, who, when he had perused the many monuments of other princes, turning to his favourite, or rather counsellor, much lamented that there should ever have lived anyone who outwent him in time, or actions, so no less do I grieve when I behold your structures that I as yet have done nothing of this sort."

In the August of 1566 she visited Oxford. On reaching Carfax the Regius Professor addressed her in Greek. She thanked him in that language, adding that his was the best oration that ever she had heard in Greek. "We would answer you presently, but with this great company we are somewhat abashed."

At Warwick "it pleased her to have the country people resorting to see her, dance in the court of the castle, Her Majesty beholding them out of her chamber window, which thing as it pleased well the country people so it seemed Her Majesty was much delighted and made very merry." On her progress through Kent she stayed at Canterbury, Dover and Sandwich. At Sandwich, "against the schoolhouse upon the turfed wall were divers children, English and Dutch, to the number of one hundred or six score, all spinning of fine bay yarn, a thing well liked both of Her Majesty and of the nobility and the ladies."

The town presented a gay spectacle; its streets gravelled, strewn with rushes, herbs, flags and such like, every house having a number of green boughs standing against the doors and walls; every house painted black and white, with divers cords made of vine branches with their leaves hanging over the streets and upon them divers garments of fine flowers. In her progresses the Queen was accompanied by a Master of Requests, whose business it was to receive petitions from poor suppliants for justice; this court was one of Cardinal Wolsey's institutions.

Elizabeth was essentially an opportunist; this may be particularly seen in her dealings with Mary Stuart. Public opinion and Parliament pressed for her execution, but it was on the eve of a struggle with Spain, when the Queen might well hesitate for fear of offending Scotland and angering France. She did not wish to put Mary to death, still less did she wish to assume responsibility one way or the other. Lord Burleigh understood her difficulty. He called a meeting of the Council, which unanimously approved the execution; Secretary Davison signed the warrant, and Mary's head fell on the block. On learning the news Elizabeth flew into a passion of simulated anger, and committed Davison to the Tower; vehemently she protested her innocence to Scotland and France. The luckless secretary was fined ten thousand marks and imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure; when released he was a broken man. The Queen played a part to the very end.

Elizabeth was at her best when her troops were at Tilbury, in anticipation of a Spanish landing and march on London. Mounted on a war horse, wearing a breastplate of steel, a truncheon in her hand, she addressed her soldiers—and never had monarch more loyal or willing soldiers: "My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes for fear of treachery, but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear. I have always so behaved myself that, under God I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects, and therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for any recreation or

sport, but being resolved in the midst of the heat and battle, to live or die, amongst you all, to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a King of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm, to which rather than any dishonour should grow by me I will myself take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field."

The Armada was the crisis of the reign. It was the victory of the navy, aided by the wild winds, but the spirit then displayed showed there was a real England willing and capable of defending itself, the unity of Catholics, Puritans, and Churchmen. The defeat of the Armada accomplished, however, more than this: it was Elizabeth's own especial triumph, the result of thirty years of policy which had made England a country worth fighting and dying for.

The war continued with Spain, Holland assisting England on the seas; Elizabeth intervened once again on the Continent. The murder of Henry III of France left Henry of Navarre heir to the throne. As he was a Protestant, and Spain had joined the League in refusing to acknowledge him, this alliance seemed likely to prove dangerous to England. The war did not last long, for by embracing the Roman Catholic religion Henry of Navarre reunited France.

By this time statesmen and courtiers who had figured in the early days of the reign were dead or nearing their end. Leicester died in September, 1588, Walsingham in 1590, Lord Burleigh, nursed and mourned by the Queen, did not see the close of the century. Many things had changed; a new generation of men had come to the front, men who were not easily governed, such as Blount, Essex, Clifford, Shirley, Cumberland, Carey and Sir Walter Raleigh. It was an epoch, however, of great rejoicing, when Elizabeth may have thought that she could obtain an enthusiastic following among her new courtiers. They should be her knights, she their faery queen; or a female King Arthur presiding over a new Round Table; or some mediæval queen of chivalry.

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Her courtiers might make love to her, as Essex and Sir Christopher Hatton did, and she would make love to them; if she had no charms she had rich gifts to bestow. Those of her courtiers who married without her permission were sent to the Tower. Sometimes not only courtiers but their sweethearts too; such was Sir Walter Raleigh's fate and that of the lady he afterwards married. After a discipline she would relent and restore them to favour again. Sir Walter Raleigh, a prisoner in the Tower, at sight of her passing by in her barge struggled to escape, and wrote a letter to Sir Robert Cecil for her to see: "How can I live alone in prison while she is afar off? I who was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her face and cheeks."

Carey posed as her unknown, disconsolate knight, in order to arouse her curiosity, for to see her was to obtain an opportunity for a return to favour.

Faction arose at Court, Sir Robert Cecil and Raleigh were opposed to Essex. Hot-headed Essex threw up his command, returned to England without permission, and fell into disgrace; with no desire to be fooled or schooled he consorted with the Presbyterians, and threatened mischief. Elizabeth, alarmed, struggling between fear for the Commonwealth and her affection for him poised the balancing scales. Then followed the tragic drama of his revolt, his appeal to the populace, the silence of London, when the citizens kept within doors, his surrender and execution.

The nobility now vied in entertaining the Queen with pageants, plays and splendid entertainments. Her Court became more magnificent than ever. When she entered it twenty-four maids of honour dressed in white, with dresses cut very low, sank before her in homage. She owned many palaces, a lodge at Islington, another at the Grove, Newington, a dairy at Barn Elms, a place at Mary le Bourne (Regent's Park). It was the time of lavish hospitality, the days of the fine old English gentleman. Luxury was the feature. Instance may be quoted of how books were now bound in velvet of different colours, chiefly red, with pearls and precious stones set in their bindings.

The England after 1588 was Shakespeare's England.

Arriving in London not long before the days of the Armada, and by way of Oxford and High Wycombe, he entered into a singing, dancing metropolis, where Queen and Court, Lord Chancellor, Templars and countrypeople danced. The stage now rose to fresh popularity, and play-acting became universal. The interior of the Elizabethan theatre showed three galleries, or tiers, which rose one above the other; there was no proscenium nor curtain, the stage was a platform surrounded on three sides, possibly on four, by spectators. The scenes were indicated by stage properties; benches, tables, and flagons for an inn, or an arbour for a garden. Above the platform stage was an upper stage adaptable for many purposes—castle battlements, rooms, or a balcony, such as the one from which Juliet spoke to Romeo. The audience consisted of courtiers, gentlemen about town, barristers, and others; apprentices and a nondescript class, “the groundlings,” who stood in the pit. A play began with a flourish of trumpets, female characters were taken by boys; if the play was a tragedy the stage was draped in black; “black stage for tragedies and murders fell.” Shakespeare, watching the drift of national life, is insistent on the necessity for national unity, England is safe if but true to herself :

“Let us be back’d with God and with the seas,
Which He hath given for fence impregnable,
And with their helps only defend ourselves;
In them, and in ourselves, our safety lies.”

(3 *Hen. VI.*, Act IV. Sc. 1.)

The temporal power cannot be subject to an alien political quasi-spiritual power. The Pope cannot determine policy.

“Tell him this tale; and from the mouth of England,
Add thus much more :—that no Italian priest
Shall tithe or toll in our Dominions;
But as we, under heaven, are supreme head,
So, under him, that great supremacy
Where we do reign, we will alone uphold,
Without the assistance of a mortal hand :
So tell the Pope; all reverence set apart,
To him, and his usurp’d authority.”

(*K. John*, Act III. Sc. 1.)

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Shakespearean scenes, whether laid at Messina, Verona, Venice, Athens, Padua, ancient Rome, or Tyre, are all drawn from pictures of London. His dialogue is rich with hits at sumptuary laws, police regulations, and the conduct of justices of the peace and aldermen. The Court, the Temple, the City are all reflected.

The expenses of administration, however, continued to grow, and a storm arose in the House of Commons over the excessive grants of monopolies. When the list was read out a member sarcastically observed: "Is not bread there?" Elizabeth, bowing before the storm, told the Commons she had been deceived: "To be a King and wear a crown is more glorious to them that see it than it is pleasure to them that wear it. For myself, I was never so much enticed with the glorious name of the King or royal authority of the Queen as delighted that God hath made me the instrument to maintain His truth and glory and to defend the kingdom from peril, dishonour, tyranny and oppression." As she bowed before Parliament so she bowed before the Common Law. During her reign the most important administrative posts were filled by Gray's Inn men. To the Temple, however, belongs the lead in discovery; most of the great seamen, such as Raleigh, Drake and Hawkins, were members of the Middle Temple, either by original admission or for the sake of honour. Second and third marriages were frequent, and especially close was the connection between the Inns of Court and the City. The last days of Elizabeth were extremely peaceful. In 1602 the Court was listening to Irish airs, but in 1603 the Queen fell ill early in the year and was removed to her palace at Richmond. Sir Robert Cecil, who had no good looks to recommend him but only a reputation for wisdom, told her, when she was resting on the sofa, to content her people she must go to bed. She awoke from her lethargy and flashed out: "'Must' must not be used to princes. Little, little man, you, if your father had lived, you durst not have said so much, but you know I must die, and that makes you presumptuous." She passed away without naming a successor; she had Parliamentary power to will the Crown. Her wishes were anxiously sought on the point, but little or nothing was gained except her desire for

a King as successor. She died on Thursday, March 24, 1603, after having previously summoned her minstrels to her room. The story is told that Lady Scrope, sister of Sir Robert Carey, threw from a window a sapphire ring, the signal of the Queen's death, to her brother, Sir Robert Carey, who was waiting outside the palace. Ahead of official news, with relays of horses waiting him, and beblooded with falls, he galloped from London and carried the news to Scotland to the new King.

CHAPTER VII

TRADE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, THE GUINEA AND BARBARY COASTS

THE apportionment of the New World between Spain and Portugal by the Pope for years delayed English enterprise in the Western Hemisphere, and led to many attempts to find the way to China and the Far East by the north-east and north-west passages. In one of these voyages, already described, "Chancellor" discovered Russia. The discovery led to the formation of the Russian or Muscovy Company, the institution of commercial and diplomatic relations with the Tsar, and to attempts to introduce trade into Persia and the East by way of the Caspian Sea. Early enterprise in the Western Hemisphere began with endeavours to trade with the Spanish in America. When covert hostility to Spain was changed to open warfare, it led to attempts at colonization, and ultimately trade flowed east and west into both hemispheres and became world-wide in operation. Its influence was shown by a great rise of the country to wealth. Development brought about the establishment of many trading companies, such as the Merchant Adventurers, and the Eastland, the African, the Levant and the East India Companies, the Turkey merchants, the adventurers to Barbary and New Guinea, and others. These had their origin in London, and the men who directed their affairs were members of City companies, such as the Drapers and Merchant Tailors.

One of the earliest foreign trades was that with the Levant. In 1534 two ships, the *Holy Cross* and the *Mathew Gonson*, sailed to Crete and Chios, and returned with good quantities of sweet oils, cotton wool, Turkey carpets and spices. An English factor was already living at Chios, who acted as agent for many London merchants and the Duke of Norfolk. Trade, however, was spasmodic and was chiefly carried on from London, Southampton and Bristol. The

bulk of the carrying trade was then in the hands of the Venetians, whose tall ships were called Argosies, from Ragusa, the port where they were built, Ragusa being corrupted to Arragouses, next to Argosies.

“Your mind is tossing on the ocean ;
There where your Argosies with portly sail,—
Like signiors and rich burghers of the flood,
Or, as it were, the pageants of the sea,—
Do overpeer the petty traffickers,
That curtsey to them, do them reverence,
As they fly by them with their woven wings.”

(Mer. of Ven., Act I. Sc. 1.)

The wreck of one of these ships off the Isle of Wight in 1575 is said to have led to a refusal by the Venetians to carry merchandise to the English shores :

“in the narrow seas that part
The French and English, there miscarried
A vessel of our country, richly fraught.”

(Mer. of Ven., Act II. Sc. 8.)

A quarrel over duties, though, had a great deal more to do with the breaking off of trade relations. The Venetians had granted Acerbo Velutelli the sole right to export currants and oil to England. Contriving to have these carried to England in English ships he, by charging an export duty, enriched himself at the expense of the Venetian traders, and when the Venetian Government imposed a fine on their commodities if carried to England in other than Venetian ships, Elizabeth retaliated with a fine on Venetian ships which practically stopped importation. Venice, however, was on the decline, and Eastern trade was following a new course round the Cape of Good Hope. In 1581, when Elizabeth cast her eyes on Turkey to assist her against Spain, she made a treaty with Amaruth III for five years; she, however, sought commercial objects as well, and granted letters patent to a company called The Merchants of the Levant. The company commenced operations with the *Great Susan*, which carried out William Harebone, the first English plenipotentiary to Constanti-

nople. A new charter was granted in 1586 to fifty-three individuals, whose principal mart was Aleppo, where Michael Locke resided as English consul. Five years earlier, in accordance with the usual policy of the London merchants to examine first into the conditions of the country in which they sought trade, Laurence Aldersey had travelled to Jerusalem and Tripoli, by way of the Netherlands and Germany, across the Alps to Venice, where he stayed some time. He describes a Jewish colony he found there as consisting of very devout persons, a thousand in number settled in one quarter of the city. The Venetian women did not appeal to him. "They were rather monsters than women; every shoemaker's or tailor's wife will have a gown of silk and one to carry up her train, wearing her shoes very near half a yard high from the ground. If a stranger meet one of them he will surely think by the state that she goeth that he meeteth a lady." From Venice by sea to Cyprus, and afterwards to Joppa, Aldersey proceeded, but with many perilous adventures. Finally he reached Jerusalem, of which he wrote a graphic account. On his way back he passed through Germany, finding in Nuremberg an English colony already settled there.

Conditions of trade were most carefully studied by the English merchants. Hakluyt, that prince of mercantile advisers, drew up a memorandum or a reminder for a friend proceeding to Turkey in 1582, begging him to have regard to earths and minerals used in dyeing, and to sell kersies rather than other cloths as their sale was more beneficial to the people. He should seek a market for the sale of bonettos, the red caps made for Barbary, because the poor people reaped great profit by this trade and knit stocks of Norwich yarn. The sale of saffron should be pushed since a large sale set many poor to work. He commended English wool as the most soft, the most strong, the most fine, the most durable in cloth and most apt of nature to receive dye; ample and full vent of this noble and rich commodity was what the common weal required. The reason assigned for pressing the sale of bonettos was that "a sack of wool turned into Devonshire kersies employed more people at work than a sack spun for broad cloth, but a sack turned into bonettos

more than a sack turned into kersies by reason of the knitting." He reminded his friend that English workers were growing skilled and "knit wares might be couched in a small room in a ship." Hakluyt's opinion was that the value of an exchange of goods with other countries should be gauged with reference to the employment it afforded, not merely by the profit on the articles. He begged his friend seek a town not far from Barbary where the people were all dyers, where was plenty of anile, the indigo shrub or dye, and where also was saffron. He related he had learnt at Saffron Walden that a pilgrim stole a head of saffron, hid it in his palmer's staff and brought it to England at the hazard of his life. In requesting a search for new commodities he recounts how many had been recently introduced into the country: the Damascus rose by Linacre, physician to Henry VII and Henry VIII; Turkey cocks and hens about 1532; three kinds of plums by Lord Cromwell; the apricot by a French priest, Wolfe Gardiner; tulips from Austria through Constantinople about 1578; the tamarisk from Germany, and tobacco seeds from the West Indies. In 1583 an English consul resided at Cairo for the protection of English trade. The same year Richard Foster was appointed consul for Tripoli in Syria; France and Venice had already their representatives there. In 1583 a great attempt was made to reach Siam and China overland by John Newberry, Ralph Fitch, and other merchants, who carried with them letters written by the Queen to the Kings of Cambia and China. The party sailed to Tripoli, and thence by way of Aleppo they reached Bagdad. There they discovered foreign merchants were allowed to trade but were not allowed to dwell in the city. On the west side of the river was a vast market in which stalls could be hired. Newberry and his party arrived at Bassora, sixty miles from the head of the Persian Gulf, then a wealthy city by reason of its great trade with India and Persia, standing in a well irrigated district with abundance of corn and groves of date palms. Two of his party elected to stop and trade. Returning home in 1587, after having made three journeys between Bassora and Aleppo, they reached the Thames early in 1588 with, it was said, the richest ship that ever entered the river. Newberry and Fitch, with others, travelled on to

Ormuz, where the former started a business dealing in English cloth, haberdashery, glasses, and other articles; his success created great jealousy amongst the Venetians, at whose instigation he was imprisoned at Goa. After some months he, with Fitch, escaped, and after a long journey of five months reached the royal cities of the Great Mogul, Agra and Fattchpore, where they parted. Newberry's intention was to reach Lahore, cross the Indus and the mountains and so find the way to Persia, but no news was ever heard of him afterwards. Fitch reached Bengal, where he stayed a year; thence he proceeded to Upper and Lower Burmah, where he stopped two years. In 1588 he started for England by a circuitous route, but was obliged to pass through Goa where he had been imprisoned. He arrived in London in 1591 with news of the existence of a fine pepper shrub in many parts of India, especially about Cochin, which grew in the fields among bushes without labour; of ginger and cloves coming from the isles of the Moluccas from a tree like the English bay; of nutmegs and mace brought from the Isle of Banda from a tree like the English walnut, but lesser. Camphor was of great value and sold dearer than gold in India; the compound article came from China, but the best grew in canes and was imported into India from Borneo. In his enumeration of precious stones, he stated that diamonds were found at Binaga, Agra, Delhi and the Islands of the Javas; rubies and sapphires at Pegue; the best pearls came from the island of Bahrein in the Persian Sea. From Hakluyt we learn what great pains were taken to instruct the English merchants in the best ways of trading in the East. Some of the lists prepared were of the weights and measures in existence in Bagdad, Bassora, and many other places; of distances, seasons and times for the winds called monsoons, "wherein ships depart from place to place in the East Indies."

English trade by 1586 was established in the Mediterranean; there were English houses at Zante, Alexandria and Patras, and when Aldersey left Bristol for the Mediterranean he visited them. He had on board his ship the *Hercules* twenty Turkish captives redeemed from captivity by Sir Francis Drake in the West Indies and brought by him to

London. The Queen sent them to the Sultan at Constantinople, an act which so impressed the Turkish Cadi at Patras that he ordered them to be brought before him, and "when he talked to the men and understood how strangely they had been delivered, he marvelled much and admired the Queen's Majesty of England." Further, he ordered their names to be recorded to remain in perpetual memory.

Trade in these times was, however, conducted with considerable danger. The year before the Spanish had formed a plan to seize and spoil the ships of all English merchants they could find. Consequently the Turkey Company armed their fleet, which kept together till reaching Sicily, the vessels separated each for its particular destination, with an understanding to reassemble, homeward bound, at Zante before attempting to make for the Straits of Gibraltar. At Zante they learned that two fleets were lying in wait to intercept them, one of thirty strong galleys, the other of twenty; were informed "it was impossible that they could get through the Straits without spoiling if they resisted, or without composition at the least, in acknowledgment of the King of Spain." The English sailors were in no wise daunted by the news; "they grounded themselves upon the goodness of their cause and the promise of God, to be delivered from such as without reason sought their destruction, they carried resolute minds, notwithstanding all impediments, to adventure through the seas to finish their navigation maugre the beards of the Spanish soldiers." After leaving Zante they encountered eleven Spanish galleys and two frigates at Pantellaria, an island between Sicily and the coast of Africa. A Spanish frigate hailed them and asked "the reason for their delay in sending their captains and pursers to their general, to acknowledge their fealty and obedience to him, in the name of the Spanish King, Lord of those seas." A reply was given refusing to acknowledge any duty or obedience, and in the parley that ensued it was stated there was amity between Spain and England, and "as they were free from giving offence, they would be loath to take an abuse at the hands of any, or sit down to a loss when their ability was able to make defence." A battle followed, when each ship matched itself against two galleys; the Englishmen "ceasing not to pray to God for help

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to teach their hands to war and their fingers to fight." The Spanish suffered great loss and ultimately drew off. When the ships put in at Algiers the English success had a wonderful effect on the natives. The Dey promised to supply all their wants, so they were able to revictual, and afterwards to set out to meet the second Spanish fleet lying in the Straits of Gibraltar. Encountering a dense fog, however, they slipped through unscathed.

English trade in those years not only spread through the Mediterranean to the Levant, but along the Barbary and Morocco coasts to that of Guinea. Madeira and the Canary Islands were already well known. "Madeira," says Hakluyt, "was first discovered about 1344 by an Englishman named Macham, who sailing out of England into Spain with a woman he had stolen, arrived by tempest to that island, and did cast anchor in that haven or bay which now is called Machicho, after the name of Macham." . . . "Because his lover was seasick he went on land with some of his company;" they were left behind, for the ship with a good wind made sail away. The woman dying, Macham and his companions made a boat out of one great tree and went to sea; they were thrown on the coast of Africa, where so marvellous was their escape considered that they were sent by the King of the country to Castile. As early as 1415 Ceuta in Morocco had been taken by John I of Portugal, with the help of English and German merchants. By 1526 the English were trading with the Canary Islands, the discovery of which had resulted from Macham's romantic voyage. Trade with Morocco began in 1551 with the sailing of the *Lion*, of London, commanded by Captain Windham, a Norfolk man. The following year he again sailed, this time with two English-built vessels and a Portuguese caravel purchased at Newport in Wales. At Santa Cruz he disposed of his merchandize, and returned with a cargo of sugar, dates, almonds and molasses, or sugar syrups. His adventure was looked upon with great dislike by the Portuguese, who vowed to treat the English as their mortal enemies. Two years later an attempt was made to reach the Guinea Coast and Benin, but an expedition sent out was not very successful. The London merchants next took the matter up, and Sir George Barne,

Thomas Locke, and others fitted out several vessels and trade began. In 1553 Towerson, a Londoner, visited the Guinea coast and trafficked with the negroes in basins, elephants' teeth and gold dust, exchanging thirty-nine basins and two small white saucers for three ounces of gold with a young negro who spoke a little Portuguese. The "master of the ship sold five basins unto the same fellow for half an ounce of gold." English vessels had touched the place before, for inquiries were made as to five negroes who had been taken to England. When the natives learned that "they were well treated and taught English, they were very well satisfied." The profits of this trade were considerable; seventeen pieces of cloth were bartered for four pounds four and a half ounces of gold. The slave trade was by now established, for the Portuguese were enslaving the negroes and putting irons on their legs.

Slavery then existed throughout the Eastern world and Africa; serfdom had but recently disappeared from England. As the Elizabethan perused the histories of the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans, he was reminded that slavery was one of the oldest institutions in the world. Even on the Guinea coast the negro enslaved his fellow; and on the coast of Algiers captive Englishmen were reduced to the galleys. What wonder the Elizabethan saw no moral turpitude in a practice consecrated by time and of almost universal application. It is in this atmosphere that we must look at the exploits of Sir John Hawkins. Casting about for goods to sell to the Spanish in the West Indies, he learned at the Canaries that negroes were good merchandise to traffic with and were easily obtainable on the Guinea coast. With the assistance of his worshipful friends Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir Lionel Duckett, and other merchant adventurers, he started in October, 1562, for Sierra Leone, touching at Teneriffe on his way out. Passing the former place, he got into his possession "300 negroes at the least, partly by the sword and partly by other means," and then traversed the ocean seas to Hispaniola, where he sold some portion of his cargo, which consisted of merchandise, in addition to slaves. At Puerto de Plata and Monte Christi ports, on the northern coast of the same island, he disposed of the rest. The next but one year he sailed from

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Plymouth, 1564, for the Guinea coast, and proceeded to Dominica with a freight of negroes. John Sparke the Younger, who chronicles the story of the voyage, tells how Indians were met on the coast of Venezuela, who presented them with meal, or cakes of bread of a kind of corn, named maize, and how hens, potatoes and pines were exchanged for beads, pewter, whistles, glasses, knives, and other trifles. On the subject of potatoes and pineapples Sparke waxes enthusiastic. "These potatoes be the most delicate roots that may be eaten, and do far exceed our passeneps or carets. Their pines be of the bigness of two fists, the outside whereof is of the making of a pineapple but it is soft like the rind of a cucumber, and the inside eateth like an apple, but it is more delicious than any sweet apple sugred." At Burburrata Hawkins attempted to trade with the Spanish, but was informed as he had no licence he must wait ten days till the pleasure of the Governor was ascertained. Not being able to afford to wait, as some of the negroes were ill, he landed one hundred men in armour, when a quick sale was effected. After trading at Curaçao in hides, and subsequently undergoing many adventures, he returned to Padstow in Cornwall with "great profit to the adventurers and to the whole realm in bringing home gold, silver and other jewels great store." These voyages of Hawkins gave great umbrage to Spain. A third voyage he had intended was stopped by the Council; and he was bound over not to proceed to the West Indies as Lord Burleigh did not approve. But a bitter feeling was growing from disputes as to Spain's lordship in the Mediterranean, seizure and imprisonment of Englishmen, forfeiture of their goods, and claims to exclude all trade with America. In 1567 the situation was altered, and Hawkins then again proceeded to the West Indies without opposition from the Council, his ships consisting of the *Jesus of Lubeck* and the *Minion*, lent by the Queen, and four others. He arrived at Cape Verde on the Guinea coast on November 18. By January 12, 1568, he had collected a cargo of 150 negroes, and finally obtaining between 400 and 500, he set out for the West Indies and reached Dominica. According to his own account, after he disposed of his cargo he was driven by a storm, which lasted three days, and compelled to put into the port "which

servieth the City of Mexico," then called San Juan de Ullua, now Vera Cruz. At his entry his fleet was mistaken for a Spanish fleet of thirteen ships then due. When the Spanish fleet did arrive he declined to allow them to enter the port, defending his action on the ground that he feared their treachery, and some pledge was required that none was contemplated. "As choosing the least mischief," he relates, "I dictated the conditions." After the Spanish fleet was within the port a fierce quarrel broke out, and in a battle which ensued Hawkins suffered considerably, for his fleet was greatly outnumbered and was exposed to the fire of the shore batteries. The *Jesus* was captured, and all the other ships with the exception of the *Judith* and the *Minion* destroyed. After great privations Hawkins and a few of the crew on board the *Minion* reached England, to find Drake, who had been with him in this venture, had arrived five days earlier on the *Judith*. "If all the miseries and troublous affairs of this sorrowful voyage should be perfectly and thoroughly written," wrote Hawkins, "there should need a painful man with his pen and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives and deaths of the martyrs."

Attempts to trade on the Guinea coast caused the utmost bitterness with the Portuguese. In 1566 George Fenner, on the *Castle of Comfort*, was attacked by seven Portuguese ships, one of 500 tons burden with a crew of 300 well armed, in the neighbourhood of the Azores. A fierce battle took place. Four times was the *Castle of Comfort* attacked; four times was the attack repulsed. In a later voyage Towerson reached Sierra Leone, and in spite of all difficulties English trade pushed on. On his last venture in 1577 his three ships and a pinnace were summoned to lower the flag to a powerful Spanish fleet of nineteen sails, and on his refusal his vessels were fired on, but an apology was tendered and accepted. The freedom of the seas meant to the English a right to traverse God's highway unmolested in times of peace for the purpose of trade and discovery. England and Spain were now like two powerful wrestlers drawing closer to each other in a deadly grip for mastery. Stories of war preparations and sea battles illuminate the pages of adventure. From the coast of Guinea we may return to the shores of Morocco. Edmund Hogan, in 1577, was sent by Elizabeth to Muley

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Abdelmelek, Emperor of Morocco, King of Fez and Suse. Within five miles of the City of Morocco all the English and French merchants met him on horseback; the Spanish and Portuguese were absent. The Emperor then commanded them to meet the English under pain of death. "Some of the Portugals spoke Hogan fair, but they hung down their heads like dogs." He says: "I countenanced them accordingly." He was informed by the Emperor that the King of Spain had sent unto him for a licence that ambassadors of his might come into the country. "But," remarked the Emperor, "I know what the King of Spain is, and what the Queen of England and her realm is, for I neither like him nor any of his religion, being so governed by the Inquisition that he can do nothing of himself." Hogan presented letters from Sir Thomas Gresham and made a present of a lute, which led to the request for English musicians to be sent out. Concessions were obtained; a promise that English ships might enter any port of Morocco to trade and victual, bring their prizes and dispose of them. An Englishman should have safe conduct in the Levant, and no English captives should be sold as slaves in Morocco. The Moors made a favourable impression upon Hogan, and he managed to acquire the things very much wanted, stores of saltpetre and sugar manufactured there by the Jews. They were then considerably indebted to the English merchants, and the Emperor ordered them to discharge their debts without delay. In 1585 Elizabeth granted a patent to the Earls of Warwick and Leicester, and other merchants associated with them, to trade in Barbary. The same year she sent Henry Roberts to Muley Hamet, then Emperor of Morocco; Roberts remained in the country three years, acting as Queen's agent, but in 1589 he returned with a Moorish captain sent on a mission to the Queen. The party landed at St. Ives in Cornwall; travelling by land they arrived at the city, and were met by forty or fifty of the chief Barbary merchants outside the walls, who escorted their coach, entrance being made on Sunday, June 11, 1589, by torchlight. In 1588 trade began in another direction with the Prince of Moldavia, when concessions were granted to some English merchants.

Throughout this period we may note the good feeling

existing between the French and English. On one of Towerson's voyages he joined with a French trading expedition, but on his way homeward was attacked by a French rover. His mariners soon made the upper works of this privateer fly about the ears of its crew. On board his ship was a Frenchman, a trumpeter, "who, being sick and lying in his bed, took his trumpet notwithstanding, and sounded till he could sound no more and so died."

In 1581 Portugal temporarily lost her liberties and became subject to Spain. In accordance with traditional policy England then opened her doors to the Portuguese refugees, who fled hither as the Dutch and French had done before. In 1588 the Queen granted letters patent to some merchants to open up a new trade between the Senegal and Gambia. This was at the instigation of some Portuguese residents in England, and done both to help and to benefit this country. Two London merchants then sailed in the *Richard*, of Arundel, for Benin, carrying out with them a cargo of cloth, both linen and woollen, ironwork of sundry sorts, manilloes or bracelets of copper, glass beads and corals, which they exchanged for pepper, elephants' teeth, oil of palm, cloth made of cotton, wool very curiously woven, and a cloth made of the bark of palm trees. The natives, they found, had bread of a kind of roots they called Inanaia; "well sodden," wrote the chronicler of this voyage, "I would leave our bread to eat of it." It was "pleasant and light of digestion; the root thereof is as big as a man's arm." The *Richard* was unable to proceed higher up the river than the Haven of Benin, but her pinnace reached Golo, whence the party reached the City of Benin overland. On another voyage a ship sailed to within half a degree of the equinoctial line. In 1593 a patent was granted to some merchants to trade on the Guinea coast in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. The preceding year Rainold and Dassell had explored the rivers of Senegal and Gambia. From the Senegal district hides, gum, elephants' teeth, ostrich feathers, amber and some gold were obtained. At the Gambia was rice. At many places the Spanish and Portuguese were already in possession; but for thirty years previous the French had been accustomed to send out a yearly expedition of four ships from Dieppe. "They were well

beloved and as courteously entertained by the negroes as if they had been naturally born in the country. Very often the negroes come into France and return again, which is further increasing of mutual love and amity." The French, however, were not allowed to enter the Gambia, which was the river of secret trade and riches carefully concealed by the Portuguese. At one time a French ship had adventured up the river, but it was surprised and taken by the Portuguese. On the second voyage of Rainold and Dassell, at Porto D'Ally, now Portudal, a town five leagues from Palmerin, forty Englishmen were slain and their goods confiscated by the treachery of the Portuguese and the consent of the negro king. Many Spanish and Portuguese residents were then banished, men or fugitives who had committed heinous crimes, men of the very worst type. When Rainold and Dassell arrived at a little island near Cape Verde, called the Isle of Liberty, they were obliged to trade through the medium of the Portuguese and Spanish. The negro chief let the voyagers know that the English would be better thought of if they trafficked directly with the negroes, as they didn't care for the Portuguese. The Portuguese caused a good deal of trouble, but much of the mischief arose through the conduct of a refugee who was guilty of a piece of base treachery. The negroes offered to put him to death by torture, but the English, "in recompense of his cruelty, pitied him, and showed mercy," and he was brought back to England, much against the mariners' will. This action so greatly impressed the negroes that afterwards the Spanish and Portuguese learned they would injure their trade if they did not renounce treachery. This refugee, Gonsalves, was a follower of Don Antonio, and one of the persons who had recommended the trade.

Although it is clear that the English were infuriated by the confiscation of their goods and by the conduct of the Inquisition, the Spanish people were rarely otherwise than courteous. They were the countrymen of Cervantes. In 1591 a curious incident occurred, which though painful was unusual. Some English prisoners had been placed under hatches, coupled with bolts, in the hold of a Spanish vessel, when a Spanish ensign bearer, who had lost his brother in the war, descended to the hold with a poniard, and stabbed six of

them to the heart, "which two others of them perceiving clasped each other about the middle, because they would not be murdered by him, and threw themselves into the sea and there were drowned." The Spanish, incensed, carried the ensign bearer to Lisbon, where the King of Spain willed that he should be sent to England that the Queen might use him as she thought good. His friends, however, obtained the remission of his sentence, notwithstanding the King's command that he should be executed without favour. For on a Good Friday the Cardinal, going to Mass, all the captains and commanders made so great an entreaty on his behalf that in the end they obtained his pardon.

There are very many battle pictures to delineate, some well known, as Drake's exploit in 1587, when entering Cadiz Roads he destroyed nearly ten thousand tons of shipping in one day and two nights, "singeing the King of Spain's beard." The fight of the *Revenge* under Sir Richard Grenville, depicted by the pen of Sir Walter Raleigh, and enshrined in verse by Tennyson, when fifty-three ships attacked one, Grenville and his master gunner proving staunch to the death. We may pass these by, to relate the story of a less-known sea fight which occurred in 1591, the year of Grenville's immortal battle. The *Centurion*, of London, a merchant vessel, commanded by Robert Bradshaw of Limehouse, encountered five Spanish galleys with soldiers aboard them, bravely apparelled in silk coats, with silver whistles about their necks, and great plumes of feathers in their hats. After firing at the *Centurion* the galleys grappled with her, two on each side, and the admiral on her stern. Her mainmast weakened, her sails torn, and the mizzen and stern almost unserviceable, still the trumpeter of the *Centurion* sounded forth "the deadly points of war," and encouraged the mariners to fight on. Many times boarded, each boarding party was fiercely repulsed, and many a brave and lusty Spaniard slain or drowned. Several times the *Centurion* was set on fire; several times were the flames extinguished. In the end the galleys drew off after a contest of five and a half hours. Each galley had 200 soldiers aboard and the English were greatly outnumbered.

Before the century was sped many patents had been granted

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for the Levant and elsewhere. In 1592 Elizabeth gave one to Sir Edward Osborne, William Harebone and Richard Staper of London, who had by their great adventure and industry, at their own great costs and charges, travelled and caused travel to be taken, as well by secret and good means as by dangerous ways by land and sea, to find out and set open a trade of merchandise and traffic into the Turkish dominions hitherto unknown. A fellowship was created to endure for twelve years, including the right to trade to East India, discovered by Newberry, Fitch, and others. The members were allowed to nominate twelve assistants to help the governor, who was Sir Edward Osborne. It was thought likely that more merchandise would be introduced into England than would be required, so special permission was given to re-export any of the imports at any time within thirteen months after the arrival of a vessel, duty free. An attempt was made to force all merchants who traded with the Levant to become members of the company, and they were accorded two months' grace to submit themselves; others with abilities and sufficiencies fit to join were permitted to do so on the payment of £130 to defray the initial charges of establishing the trade. As with other Elizabethan companies, a monopoly to trade was only granted as a reward for enterprise. We may close the story of the Levant trade with a short description of the mission of Edward Barton, a member of this company, to the Sultan of Turkey in 1593. A quarrel having arisen by reason of the arrest of an Englishman named John Field, the Grand Vizier insulted Barton. Barton, however, had with him presents from Elizabeth to the Sultan, and he let him know that he would have to obtain advice as to whether she would tolerate this insult to her representative. The firm attitude of Barton had the desired effect. He was asked to go to the Grand Vizier's divan, where he was well received and publicly robed with a gown of cloth of gold and openly embraced by the Grand Vizier in sign of reconciliation. All this took place in public to the no small admiration of all Christians who heard of it, especially the French and Venetian ambassadors, who never in the like case against the second person of the Turkish Empire durst have attempted so bold an enterprise. Richard Wrag, our chronicler, describes the

ceremony of the handing over of Elizabeth's presents. Dinner was served in good style, but cleared away in a disorderly manner by the Moglass officers of the kitchen—like Her Majesty's black guards. The presents consisted of pieces of gilt plate, with thirty-six garments of fine English cloth of all colours, twenty garments of cloth of gold, and ten of satin, with six pieces of fine Holland and other articles. These were solemnly carried round about the Court and exhibited article by article. The Sultana received a picture of Elizabeth which was set with rubies and diamonds, and other presents. When she inquired what the English Queen would like, she was told that a suit of princely attire after the Turkish fashion, from its rareness, would be acceptable in England. The Sultana wrote a special letter to Elizabeth, in which she termed her the most gracious and most glorious, the wisest among women, and most rare among womankind in the world. She sent her so honourable and sweet a salutation of peace, of such kind that all the flock of nightingales with their melody could not attain the like, much less her simple letter. Notwithstanding Barton's success as ambassador, it was thought presents should be continually sent to the Sultan. In 1596 Barton (died 1599) was dispatched again with presents of great and curious character, including an organ built by a famous organ builder of the name of Dallam, who built an organ for King's College, Cambridge. We may note that during the next, the seventeenth century, the Dallams were the great English organ builders.

CHAPTER VIII

RUSSIAN AND PERSIAN TRADE

FROM the time of its accidental discovery great efforts were made by the City of London to build up trade with Russia. Many who had been employed in the Levant trade took part in the enterprise. The greatest was Anthony Jenkinson, a member of the Mercers Company, appointed in 1557 captain of the Russian Company's fleet and agent for Russia. On his arrival at St. Nicholas on the Dwina, he discharged his cargo and reloaded his vessel with the goods of the country. He went to Kholmogori where the company had established their factory; proceeding to Moscow, he dined with the Tsar. On April 23, 1558, accompanied by Richard and Robert Johnson and a Tartar guide, he set out for Persia. Near Astrakan he found to be an island most destitute and barren of wood and pasture, the air infected by reason of the quantity of fish—specially sturgeon, whence *caviare*—hung up in the streets and in the houses to dry, the place very poor: "I could have bought many goodly Tartars' children, if I would have had a thousand, of their own fathers and mothers, a boy or a wench for a loaf of bread worth sixpence in England, but we had more need of victual at that time than of any such merchandise." Sailing from Astrakan into the Caspian Sea, he was buffeted about for a month, after many stirring adventures reaching Bokhara via Khiva, by caravan. At Bokhara, formerly a resort of merchants from India, Russia and Persia, "there was no good trade to be had." Abandoning his intention of reaching Persia, he left Bokhara on March 8, 1559, with him six ambassadors, one of whom was from Bokhara, who accompanied him on his promise that they would be well received in Russia and suffered to depart in safety: "They somewhat doubted because there had none gone out of Tartary into Russia of long time before." On April 23 he reached the Caspian Sea: "We found our barque which we came in, but

neither anker, cable, cocke, nor saile; nevertheless, we brought hempe with us, and spunne cable ourselves, with the rest of our tackling, and made us a saile of cloth of cotton wooll, and rigged our barque as well as we could, but boate or an anker we had none. . . . Whilst planning to make an anker of wood out of a cartwheel, a barque arrived from Astrakan with Tartars and Russes which had two ankers, with whom I agreed for the one, and then being in a readiness we set saile and departed, I and the two Johnsons being masters and mariners ourselves, having in our barque the said six ambassadors and twenty-five Russes which had been slaves a long time in Tartary, nor ever had before my comming libertie, or meanes to get home, and these slaves served to rowe when neede was. During the time of our navigation wee set up the redde crosse of S. George in our flagges for honour of the Christians, which, I suppose, was never seen in the Caspian Sea before." Jenkinson returned to England in 1560, but next year was back in Russia. Proceeding to Vologda, he waited four days the arrival of a company's boat "wherein was laden a chest of jewels with a present appointed for the Emperor's Majesty."

His second journey to Persia was not wholly successful owing to the pendency of a war with Turkey. He, however, visited Abdulla Khan, King of Shirvan, at Shemakha, and obtained letters of safe conduct for English merchants. Much valuable information was obtained from Indian merchants for a trade of spices. By 1564 the Russian trade was prospering, and the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Richard Chester, who some twenty years before, with Bussine and three partners, had introduced the business of sugar-making and refining into England, was taking an active interest in its development.

A number of expeditions were sent to Persia; of one, Richard Johnson, who had been with Jenkinson, was captain. Arthur Edwards, one of his party, describes it in a letter to Sir Thomas Lodge, an alderman of the City of London, father of the well-known dramatist Lodge. At Shemakha a market was found available for cloth; "the common people wear karsies, merchants of more wealth broadcloth; all sorts of cloth should be sent out. There is much talk of London

cloths, and they that know the wearing are desirous of them before the cloth of the women's making, which they find nothing durable, for when it cometh to wear on the thread it rendeth like paper." Venetian cloth was extensively used, but English was specially in request. The Shah inquired whether the Russian Company could supply him yearly with one hundred thousand pieces of kersies and cloth. "Yes," was the reply, "with two hundred thousand pieces if you desire." Persia was then anxious to purchase cloth, for Turkey threatened to prevent her obtaining Venetian cloth. Edwards enumerated articles that could be exported from England: kersies, tin, copper, red cloth and brasil (an Oriental wood used in dyeing), from which Brazil took its name. From Persia might be brought raw silk, pepper, ginger, nutmegs, brimstone, alum, rice, cloves and yew for bowstaves. In a second letter to the governors of the company, Edwards stated that the Armenians were keen to trade, were ready to bring all sorts of spices from India: "If your worships might procure and find vent of sales of raw silks and silks dyed in grain, besides other silks wrought and made here by which profit might be mainly made, then you might send a great substance of wares here. But I feel you shall be hindered by the Venetians if they may; for I know it will grieve them that you do trade with these parts, for in short time it shall clean alter their trade and hinder the sales of their cloths in Aleppo and other places adjoining."

Some very important trade concessions were obtained; freedom for goods to enter the country without payment of customs, protection for the merchants, and a guarantee for the prompt payment of debts. In 1566 the Russian Company was incorporated by Act of Parliament. Its preamble recites that the Merchant Adventurers had discovered a convenient way to reach Russia and pass through it to Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, and other dominions in Asia Minor, and there was hope of the company reaching China and other regions. A year later Jenkinson obtained further concessions in Russia; merchants and their agents were given liberty to enter with all kinds of wares and sell English goods by retail.

Good trade relations led to the dispatch of two Russian

ambassadors, who reached London with letters and presents to Elizabeth, and were lodged in Seething Lane. The presents were sables in pairs for tippets and other rich furs. Henry Lane, in writing to Hakluyt, said: "For at that time that princely ancient ornament of furs was yet in use, and great pity but that it might be renewed, especially in Court and among magistrates, not only for the restoring of an old worshipful art and company, but also because furs be for our climate wholesome, delicate, grave and comely, expressing dignity, comforting age, and of longer continuance and better with small cost to be preserved than these new silks, shaggess and ragges wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed."

In 1568 Arthur Edwards went to Persia. Chapman gives an account of his journey in a letter written to a merchant of the Russian Company. When Edwards appeared at Court the Shah asked what country he came from; he answered from England. The Shah inquired of his nobles if any of them knew such a country. "When Edwards saw none of them had any intelligence of that land he mentioned Inghilterra, as the Italians call England. One of the noblemen remarked 'Londro,' meaning London (which name is better known in far countries out of Christendom than is the name of England)." When Edwards heard the name *Londro* he told the Shah that it was the name of the chief city of England, whereupon the Shah asked many things concerning England and marvelled that it should be an island of so great richness and power. When Edwards was asked as to the merchandise he could bring to Persia, he answered, "it was similar to that that the Venetian merchants who dwelt in London sent to Venice, from whence it was transported to Turkey by way of Tripoli in Syria, whence as by the second and third hands, with great charges of many customs and other things thereunto pertaining, it was at length brought into Persia." He further explained that it consisted of great abundance of fine kersies, broadcloths of all sorts and colours, scarlets, violets, and others of the finest cloth in the world. Edwards told the Shah that the Venetians brought out of England not only ready-made clothes but fine wool to mingle with their own wool, without which they were unable to make

fine cloth, and he affirmed that there went from England yearly about two hundred thousand kersies and as many broadcloths, besides fine wool and other merchandise of great quantity; cloth in addition was carried to Spain, Barbary, and other countries. On being informed that English goods would reach Persia through Russia more quickly than by way of Venice, the Shah bestowed upon the English merchants some additional and exceptional privileges.

A tribute was paid to the honest dealings of the Russian Company by the Shah in 1569. So delighted was he with English goods that he paid for them before delivery that he might be the surer "of honourable intended dealing." When the Shah wanted to send money to Mecca for an offering to Mahomet, he would not send any money or coin of his own directly, but sent it to the English merchants to exchange for theirs, according to its exchange value, giving as his reason that the "money of the merchants was gotten by good means, and with good consciences, and was therefore worthy to be made for an oblation to their Holy Prophet; but his own money was rather gotten by fraud, oppression and dishonest means, and therefore was not fit to serve for so holy a use."

An expedition in 1573 returned by the Caspian Sea richly laden, but the ship was attacked by pirates and the crew turned adrift in the ship's boats with some horseflesh and swine's flesh but without further victuals or relief. A strenuous resistance was made, and the bodies of many pirates slain in the fighting were subsequently discovered buried in wrappings of taffetas, satins and Turkey carpets. Some portion of the company's goods were ultimately recovered, which the Emperor of Russia, out of pity, purchased and paid for in cash.

By 1570 the English merchants were able to use the port of Narva recently acquired by Russia, but trade in the Baltic was threatened by pirate vessels from Dantzic. In consequence a punitive expedition was fitted out and five of the pirate ships taken.

Continuous attempts were made to develop the Persian trade, but the influence of Persia was waning on the shores of the Caspian Sea and Turkish influence increasing. Derbent was a most important trading centre; there the Russian Com-

pany traded for silk and other commodities with marked success. One of their agents was Morgan Hubblethorne, a dyer to whom Hakluyt had given special directions with reference to dyes so that the art might be introduced into England in greatest excellency: "Good dyeing would stimulate the output and sale of cloth." Hubblethorne was reminded that he was sent out at the charge of the City; to satisfy the lords, the expectation of the merchants, and the City company of which he was a member, it behoved him to return with more knowledge than he carried out. He was to have the greatest regard for the discovery of the materials in use in Persia for dyeing; study the manufacture of Persian carpets and resort to the towns and cities where it was carried on. "Cloth dyeing and silk dyeing have a certain affinity," argued Hakluyt, and "silk dyeing was to be specially studied. The staining of linen cloth was an old art in England, and some excellent cloth was still in existence, but the art was lost. He was recommended to seek for anile and discover the making of the dye to make sure the colour to be given to logwood, so that the country would not need to purchase woad from abroad. It was also advisable to procure a singular good workman in the art of Turkish carpet-making to introduce it into England."

Further privileges from Russia were obtained in 1586, but conditions were now not altogether satisfactory, for privileges were given and taken away. In 1596 merchants were allowed to enter Russia, pass through it and depart from it with their goods free of customs, provided they were not foreign goods; but permission to sell by retail was withdrawn and they were only allowed to sell by great sale. The principal houses of the company in Russia were near the Church of St. Mark's, behind the market-place at Moscow, Yerislave, Vologda, Kolmogori, and St. Michael, Archangel.

In the story of the Russian trade regard must be had to the personal character of men such as Jenkinson, Randolph, Bowes, and many others. Jenkinson was a man of ready resource and great determination. On one occasion he flatly refused to deliver the Queen's letters to the Emperor to his secretary. When, in consequence, permission was refused him to pass into Persia, he demanded his passport, and post

horses to return; his insistence was rewarded by letters which commended him to the consideration of foreign princes whom he might meet. On another occasion the Emperor spoke very frankly to him; apparently he had grounds of grievance, but Jenkinson managed to clear up all causes of disagreement.

Thomas Randolph, one of Elizabeth's ambassadors, was shut up in a house built for the reception of ambassadors, and two gentlemen were appointed to attend him; but he was refused permission to leave the house or receive visitors for seventeen weeks; an interview with the Tsar was then granted him. He rode to Court, but the rest of his men were required to march on foot, to their great grief. He was kept waiting in the reception room two hours, then conveyed up a pair of stairs to a large room where were 300 persons sitting robed in rich attire, which had all been taken out of the Emperor's wardrobe for the occasion. On entering the room Randolph gave the company reverence with his hat such as he judged their stately sitting, grave countenance and sumptuous apparel demanded, but receiving no acknowledgment of his courtesy he at once replaced his hat on his head. The most extraordinary of Elizabeth's ambassadors was Sir Jerome Bowes, who went to Russia in 1583 with letters from the Queen. These he insisted on delivering into the hands of the Tsar. After a show of friendliness the Tsar, Ivan the Terrible, told him he didn't reckon the Queen of England as his fellow. Bowes told him the Queen of England was as great as any prince in Christendom, equal to him who thought himself the greatest. "How sayest thou to the French King and the King of Spain?" said Ivan. "I hold the Queen, my mistress, as great as any of them both," was Bowes' answer. "Then what sayest thou to the Emperor of Germany?" "Such is the greatness of the Queen, my mistress," answered Bowes, "as the King her father had not long since the Emperor in his pay in his wars against France." Bowes was told that if he were not an ambassador he would be thrown out of doors. He replied that he had a mistress who, he doubted not, would be revenged of any injury done unto him. He was told to get home; but Ivan quickly changed his mind, and finally ended by praising him, and promising to send Elizabeth a present worth £3,000. Bowes' treat-

ment so pleased Ivan that he interested himself in the English religion, and told him he intended to marry a kinswoman of the Queen's, and if she wouldn't send one out to him he would pack up his treasure, start for England, and marry one there. The year before this interview Ivan had made overtures for the hand of the Lady Mary Hastings, but she declined to go. In connection with this remarkable embassy, we learn that when Bowes was asked to give up his sword preliminary to his admission to the Tsar's presence, he ordered his boots to be pulled off, and said the Emperor must wait till he could go in his nightcap, nightgown and slippers, since he wasn't allowed to meet him as a soldier. On another occasion, when the Tsar ordered a man to jump out of the window to certain death, and was obeyed, Bowes told him his mistress did set more by, and make better use of, the necks of her subjects. Bowes went so far on one occasion as to fling his gauntlet down and challenge any Russian nobleman to take it up on behalf of the Emperor. Ivan was a monarch requiring firm handling. He nailed the French ambassador's hat to his head, and threatened Bowes with similar treatment. Bowes was by no means cowed, but replied he did not represent the cowardly King of France, but the Invincible Queen of England, "who does not veil her bonnet, nor bare her head, to any prince living."

At the beginning of the reign the Russian trade was of great importance, by reason of the belief that through Russia the East could be reached. Towards the end of the reign a route to India and China, by way of the Cape, had then become well known. The Cape had been doubled by Vasco da Gama in 1497. He sailed to Calicut on the Malabar coast of India and returned to Lisbon in 1498.

CHAPTER IX

THE GREAT NAVIGATIONS

WHEN the English began those great navigations which laid the foundations of the Imperial Commonwealth, years had elapsed since John and Sebastian Cabot had sailed from Bristol. Four Tudor Sovereigns had passed away; the fifth, the greatest of all, was on the throne. Meanwhile three nations, the Portuguese, Spanish and French, had begun to colonize and settle in the Eastern and Western hemispheres. The Portuguese were the first. In the fourteenth century the mystery of untraversed oceans had barred the way and daunted the spirits of the bravest mariners with unknown terrors. Before the fifteenth century closed the Portuguese had crossed the Equator, and Vasco da Gama had doubled the Cape of Good Hope. Their flag was planted on the western coast of India, where Goa became a centre for the trade of Asia, the seat of an archbishopric, whence Jesuit missionaries pushed their explorations through India and wandered even to the far-off islands of Japan. By 1517 the Portuguese had a permanent station at Colombo, in Ceylon; they were earlier in Sumatra and in Papua, which they called New Guinea from its resemblance to the familiar Guinea coast. They were later in Borneo, but in the Western hemisphere they reached Brazil.

From the days of the discoveries of Columbus, the Spaniards had swept from Hispaniola to the continent of America, where north and south join at the Isthmus of Darien. On September 26, 1513, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, standing on a mountain of the isthmus, looked upon the waters of the great South Sea, not known as the Pacific Ocean till Magellan named it. He took possession, and to perpetuate his discovery erected a cross. Strange rumours were afterwards rife of a land to the south, where gold was common and valued by the inhabitants no more than iron;

an unknown country, news of which may have been circulated on the quay of Leyden when Sir Thomas More frequented there. Five years after the cross was erected on February 11, 1518, fifteen ships, 553 soldiers on board, thirteen of whom were armed with muskets, thirty-seven with arquebuses, and the rest with pikes, sailed from Hispaniola for the land now known as Mexico, under the command of Fernando Cortez. They landed in the province of Tabasco, overran the Republic of Tlaxcala, and afterwards founded Vera Cruz. Their retreat was impossible, for Cortez deliberately burned his ships. Marching from conquest to conquest, gold, silver and precious stones were offered to appease their wrath; nothing could stop these strange Christian gods who fired the lightning and launched the thunderbolts of war. By 1521 the Empire of Montezuma, which had endured three centuries, had crumbled into dust; Spain was the conqueror. On August 10, 1519, Magellan, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, with the *San Victoria* and four other ships, crossed the Atlantic. Reaching the coast of Brazil, he navigated the eastern seaboard of South America till he discovered those straits first called Victoria, after the name of his flagship, but which were subsequently renamed Magellan. Passing through them, he crossed the South Pacific and discovered the Manillas. In Zebu, one of the group, he quarrelled with the natives and was slain, fighting gallantly at the head of his men, on April 26, 1520. The expedition was prosecuted under different commanders and arrived at the Moluccas, and touched at Borneo, Malacca and Mozambique; long and strange were their wanderings amongst unknown seas and islands and unknown races, faced by unknown perils. At last rounding the Cape of Good Hope, his ship the *Victory*, under Jean Sebastian del Cano, reached Seville on September 7, more than three years after he had started on his voyage, first of the great pilots to circumnavigate the world.

In 1532 Pizarro, with his Spanish soldiers, sought that land where gold was reckoned of such small account. Reaching Peru, he found a strange people with an ancient civilization and code of laws which embodied the two main principles, kill not and tell no lies. In vain the Incas of Peru strove

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against his arms; Peru fell, and in 1535 Pizarro founded Lima, City of the Kings. Gold and silver were the lures that drew the Spanish to South America. Carrying these precious metals in their ships to the Isthmus of Darien, thence overland to Nombre de Dios, they transhipped them to Europe.

Two years after Pizarro had started to conquer Peru the French laid the foundations of another Empire. In 1534 Jacques Cartier, a sailor of St. Malo, leaving that port with two ships of three-score ton apiece in burden, each carrying sixty-one well-appointed men, sailed under a commission from the King of France for Newfoundland. There "we were constrained to enter a haven, and therein we stayed ten days looking for fair weather, and in the meantime we mended and dressed our boats." Putting to sea, he came to an island of birds "whereof there were such plenty that unless a man did see them he would think them an incredible thing, the island being so full of them that they seem to have been brought thither and sowed for the nonce." Another island he named the Isle of Bears because of the bears who were wont to swim there; the islands he passed by seemed innumerable, some barren land he thought had been allotted to Cain. On St. John's Day he reached a cape he called after the day, St. John's. Finally he arrived at a land "the fairest that may possibly be seen, full of goodly meadows and trees." He began to explore the coasts of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, thirty-seven years after Cabot. Sailing up the river St. Lawrence, Cartier penetrated as far as Hochelaga to a hill he named Mont Royal, the site of Montreal. Ten years later the colonization of Quebec began under his auspices and those of the Seigneur de Roberval, and near where the City of Quebec now stands Fort Charlesbourg was built.

During these years amidst fog and snowstorm the English sailors patiently fished the banks of Newfoundland, for neither ships nor men were ready for greater enterprises. But the policy of fish days was gradually preparing the way for those voyages to polar regions of gloom and darkness, which began in the reign of Edward VI, and from that time forward have never ceased.

In the search for the north-west and north-east passages to China, many Elizabethan sea captains cross the screen of history, one of whom was Martin Frobisher. In 1574, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert wrote his discourse to prove a passage to the north-west (a book not published till two years later), it convinced the Queen that an attempt should be made to prove the correctness of his theory. She accordingly threatened the Russian Company that, unless they sent an expedition, she would transfer their privileges to others who would. The company in consequence fitted out an expedition which was entrusted to Frobisher, who, with two vessels the *Gabriel* and the *Michael* and a pinnace, sailed from the Thames. "On June 8, 1576," wrote Christopher Hall, master of the *Gabriel*, "we weighed at Deptford where the vessels were anchored waiting for the pinnace; we set sail all three of us and bore down by the Court, where we shot off our ordnance and made the best show we could. Her Majesty, beholding the same, commended it and bade us farewell, with shaking of the hand at us out of the window." Sailing up the North Sea, the Shetlands and Faroes were passed, the southern point of Greenland, Cape Farewell, reached. In a storm the *Gabriel* parted from the *Michael*, the pinnace foundered, and the *Michael* then returned home. On July 20 a foreland, "Elizabeth's," was sighted, not far from the south-east end of Frobisher's Bay. Proceeding to the northern shore, next sailing west into the bay, Frobisher passed "above fifty leagues therein, having upon either hand a great main or continent." The land upon his right he judged (erroneously) to be the continent of Asia, "there to be divided from the firma of America which lieth upon the left hand over against the same." From this ice-ribbed land he was anxious to bring back something to show. One of his company found a stone much like a sea coal in colour; on his return it fortunately that a gentlewoman, one of the adventurers' wives, had a piece which she threw into the fire, and when taken out and quenched in vinegar it glistened. The gold finers declared it contained gold; an Italian alchemist, however, was responsible for this opinion for no gold was ever discovered. A belief in its existence led to the starting of a second expedition, the *Gabriel* and the *Michael*, having as a consort one of

the Queen's ships, the *Aid*, "which had on board a number of one hundred men of all sorts, whereof thirty or more were gentlemen and soldiers." On July 17, 1577, the ships reached Hall's Island at the north entrance to Frobisher's Bay. The southern coast of Meta Incognita was then explored and a bay discovered, and Frobisher, rowing thither to look for a good harbour, landed upon a small island, where "all the sands and cliffs did so glitter and had so bright a marquesite that it seemed all to be gold, but upon trial made it proved no better than black lead and verified the proverb all is not gold that glistereth." The sound was named Jackman's, after the name of the master's mate, and a small island where the smith set up his forge for dealing with ore containing silver was called Smith's Island. With 200 tons of stone, or pyrites, about the middle of August Frobisher loaded his ships, sailing for home on the 24th of the month. A third expedition in 1578 consisted of fifteen vessels, which sailed in three divisions. By accident a new strait was discovered and explored, the upper portion of Frobisher's Bay, but no gold was discovered, and for a time Frobisher fell out of favour.

On January 24, 1583, three men, John Davis, Adrian Gilbert and John Dee, met Walsingham at the house of Robert Beale and explained their views on the north-west passage. Further consultations followed. Ultimately Elizabeth granted Gilbert and his associates a patent to encourage them to seek a way to China by the north-west, north-east or northward passages. The company was designated "colleagues of the fellowship for the north-west passage." One clause of the patent declared children of the adventurers born abroad should have the privilege of free denizens as if they were natives of England. It was not, however, till 1585 that John Davis, one of the three, set sail on June 7 with the *Sunshine*, of London, and the *Moonshine*, of Dartmouth, on his course north-westward. He first made the Greenland coast, but an impassable barrier of ice confronting him, he steered south and doubled Cape Farewell, but turned north again. On July 20 the fog hitherto persistent broke, and "we discovered the land which was the most deformed, rocky and mountainous that ever we saw." "The shore beset with

ice a league off into the sea, making such irksome noise as that it seemeth to be the true pattern of desolation, and after the same our captain named it the Land of Desolation." Coasting the shore, Davis steered north-west, hoping "In God's mercy to find the desired passage." In the latitude of 66 degrees he fell in with another shore, and there found a passage of twenty leagues broad directly west, which was Cumberland Gulf. His subsequent adventures of how his party landed and entertained the natives with music, to which the mariners danced to show their peaceful intention, and of how they threw stockings, caps and gloves out of pure civility is all written in the story of the voyage by John Janes, who was one of the merchant adventurers. Tact led to business, the natives sold the navigators their fine canoes, even the very clothes from their backs, all made of seal skins and birds' skins. One brave mount, the cliffs whereof were as orient as gold, Davis named Mount Raleigh; the bay where his ships anchored, Totnes Road; the Sound encompassing Mount Raleigh, Exeter Sound; the Foreland to the north, Dyers; and that to the south, Walsingham's Cape. Janes tells us how the *Moonshine* was lost in a storm, and how, when the *Sunshine* sailed into Dartmouth she found the *Moonshine*, which had arrived two hours earlier. There is a pleasant atmosphere reminding one of Devon about the story.

Davis made a second voyage north-west under the auspices of the merchants of Exeter, and found a great inlet which gave him hopes of a passage, but he discovered none. In 1587 he proceeded to the north-west to the latitude of 67 degrees, having the continent he called America on the west side and Greenland on the east. Going to the height of 68 degrees, the passage enlarged so that he could not see the western shore. He then continued in a great sea, but by reason of two of his vessels departing he returned home. The passage into Baffin's Bay, for this was the great sea he had entered, has ever since been known as Davis' Straits. John Prince, a Devonshire man, tells us that on one of these voyages Davis discovered a shrub whose fruit was very sweet, "full of red juice like currants, perhaps the same with the New England cranberry or bearberry, so-called from the bears

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so greedily devouring of them, with which, as a great dainty brought into our country, are made tarts grateful to our palates."

Another great sea captain was the earlier-mentioned Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was an excellent hydrographer, a no less skilful mathematician and of a high and daring spirit. Given a patent to discover and search out remote and barbarous lands, countries and territories not actually in the possession of any Christian prince or people, his first venture met with disaster at the hands of the Spanish off Cape Verde. It was not till 1583 that he acquired the means to fit out a flotilla, which consisted of the *Delight*, the barque *Raleigh*, provided by Sir Walter, his half-brother, and the largest vessel, the *Swallow*, the *Squirrel* and the *Golden Hind*. Leaving England, Gilbert lost the *Swallow* in a fog after sighting the northern shores of Newfoundland, near the Straits of Belle Isle, on July 30. On crossing Conception Bay he fell in with the *Swallow*; at St. John's Harbour he found the *Squirrel* already anchored. Thirty-six vessels of all nations were lying in the harbour, and of these the English were the most numerous.

On Monday, August 5, Gilbert had his tent set up and summoned all merchants and masters, English and strangers, to be present. "Before whom openly was read and interpreted unto the strangers his commission, by virtue whereof he took possession in the same harbour of St. John, 200 leagues every way he invested the Queen's Majesty with the title and dignity thereof, had delivered unto him (after the custom of England) a rod and a turf of the same sort, entering possession also for him, his heirs and assigns for ever; and signified unto all men, that from that time forward they should take the same land as a territory appertaining to the Queen of England, and himself authorized under Her Majesty to possess and enjoy it, and to ordain laws for the government thereof (so near as conveniently might be) unto the laws of England under which all people coming thither hereafter, either to inhabit or by way of traffic, should be subjected and governed."

Obedience was promised him by the general voice, as well Englishmen as strangers, and afterwards was erected not far

from the spot where his famous declaration was made the arms of England, engraven in lead and affixed upon a pillar of wood. In this wise was the colony of Newfoundland established, the most ancient of English Dominions across the seas. Gilbert appointed men to repair his ships, to collect supplies and provisions, and search out the commodities and singularities of the country to be found by sea and land. The south portion of the island then contained no inhabitants, but in the north some harmless savages lived. There was an incredible quantity of fish in the seas, fresh water trout, salmon, with other kinds then unknown, a great abundance of cod, drawing people from all parts of Europe, for this fishery was already world famous. "We could not observe," says the chronicler of the voyage, "the hundredth part of the creatures in those uninhabited lands, but these mentioned may induce us to glorify the magnificent God who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures serving for the use of man, though man hath not used the sixth part of the same, which the more doth aggravate the fault and foolish sloth in many of our nation, choosing rather to live indirectly, and very miserably to live and die within this realm (of England), pestered with inhabitants, than to adventure, as becometh men, to obtain an habitation in those remote lands, in which nature very prodigally doth minister unto men's endeavours, and for art to work upon." The mountains of Newfoundland made show of mineral substances; iron, lead and copper were common. On August 20 Sir Humphrey Gilbert left St. John's, and nine days later a disaster happened to the *Delight*, which struck the shoals and was lost with a hundred souls on board, of whom only twelve were saved. After sighting Cape Race, Gilbert left the *Squirrel*, having injured his foot by treading on a nail; he required the surgeon on the *Golden Hind* to dress it, but he refused to stay. Later on he again came on board, and announced his intention of fitting up a new expedition to Newfoundland next spring. "I will ask a penny of no man," he said. "I will bring good tidings unto Her Majesty, who will be so gracious as to lend me £10,000." He willed his friends to be of good cheer, so pleased was he with Newfoundland, and he told them they needed not to seek any

further. These last words he repeated often and "with demonstration of great reverence of mind." His friends begged him not to venture again on the frigate, a vessel of such very small tonnage, but he answered: "I will not forsake my little company going homeward with whom I have passed so many storms and perils." On September 9, south of the Azores, foul weather was encountered, "terrible seas broke over them short and high pyramid wise, so much so that men who had spent their lives on the waters never saw such outrageous seas." The *Squirrel* though nearly oppressed by the waves yet recovered herself, and when the *Hind* was near enough to her Sir Humphrey Gilbert was seen sitting abaft with a book in his hand crying out to those on the *Hind*: "We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land." "Reiterating the same speech well beseeming a soldier resolute in Jesus Christ as I can testify he was," says Edward Hayes our chronicler. About twelve o'clock that night the *Squirrel*, then being ahead of the *Golden Hind*, suddenly her lights disappeared, "Whereof as it were in a moment we lost the sight, and withal our watch cried the general was cast away, which was too true, for in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the sea, yet still we looked out all night and ever after until we arrived upon the coast of England."

Attempts were made by the London merchants to discover the north-east passage to China. Pet and Jackman, two renowned pilots, passed some miles beyond the isles of Vaigatz, near Nova Zembla; there "they found ebbing and flowing so uncertain, so many shelves, and so great store of ice, that they could not possibly go any further, having much ado to return."

Whilst English navigators bade the frozen north disclose its secrets, other sea captains were now pressing into sunnier regions. At the beginning of the Queen's reign Drake, the apprentice, sold the boat his master bequeathed him, and not long after joined Hawkins. At Ullua his goods were taken by the Spanish, and he narrowly escaped with his life. To make him satisfaction for the outrage, it is said he was persuaded by the minister of his ship that he might lawfully recover the value from the King of Spain by reprisal, and

repair his losses upon him anywhere else. "The case was clear in sea divinity," says Prince, "and few are such infidels as not to believe doctrines which make for their profit, whereupon Drake, though then a poor private man, undertook to revenge himself upon so mighty a monarch." On May 24, 1572, he, with his brother John and seventy-three men and boys, volunteers all, sailed from Plymouth for Nombre de Dios, the granary of the West Indies, wherein the golden harvest from Peru and Mexico brought to Panama was hoarded, till it could be conveyed to Spain. Concealing himself in a harbour called by him Port Pheasant, he joined forces with the crew of an English ship from the Isle of Wight, and prepared to land an attack on Nombre de Dios. Fifty-three Englishmen by night entered the market-place with their trumpets sounding, drums beating, the glare from their fire pikes no less affrighting the enemy than giving light to the English, who thereby discovered every place as if it had been daylight. John Oxenham, that sturdy old buccaneer who afterwards died at the hands of the Spanish, for he could not show that he had Elizabeth's commission, was with Drake. In the market-place Drake was wounded; concealing his wounds, he ordered his men to break open the treasure house, wherein against the wall were bars of silver in a pile, seventy feet in length, ten in breadth, twelve in height, each bar between thirty-five and forty pounds in weight. "As he stepped forward strength, sight and speech failed him, and he began to faint for want of blood, which had issued in great quantities from a wound in his leg. He lost so much blood as filled his very footsteps in the sand, whereat his men were much troubled, and giving him somewhat to drink, he recovered his spirits. They bound up his wound with his scarf, persuading him aboard for his recovery, the which he refusing, they added force to their entreaty, and so carried him to his pinnace." The attack on Nombre de Dios and the subsequent attack on a convoy carrying the King of Spain's treasure to the port were buccaneering expeditions executed without cruelty, for when Drake entered Vera Cruz he strictly enjoined his allies, the Indians and his own men, to do no hurt to any woman or unarmed man, an order faithfully

obeyed. On the occasion of his seizure of the rich convoy on the road to Nombre de Dios, fearing his boats were lost, for seven Spanish pinnaces were searching the coast, he put to sea on a raft with a sail made out of a biscuit sack, an oar shaped out of a young tree, and three companions only with him, sitting up to his waist in water six hours till his own pinnace came in sight. On Sunday, August 9, 1573, he reached Plymouth; it was sermon time at Plymouth church, but on this wonderful homecoming few or no people remained with the preacher.

The story of Drake's voyage round the world is numbered amongst the greatest of English epics. At Nombre de Dios he had been informed of a certain tree from whose top the North Sea, whence he came, and the South Sea, whither he was going, might be discerned. "Being come thereto (which stood on a very high hill) one of the chief Cimaroons, a native tribe with whom he was in alliance, took him by the hand and desired him to walk up this famous tree, whereon were cut divers steps to ascend almost to the top, on which was made a convenient arbour for men to sit"; hence without difficulty the North Atlantic and South Oceans might be plainly seen. After ascending the tree and having taken a full view of what he had heard such golden reports of, he "besought God to give him life and leave to sail once an English ship in that sea." It was not till December 13, 1577, that his wish was gratified, when he began his famous voyage with a flotilla consisting of five ships, the *Pelican*, under his command, the *Elizabeth*, whose captain was John Wynter, the *Marygold*, the *Swan*, and the *Christopher*, a pinnace of fifteen tons. "No provision was omitted to make for ornament and delight, for with him aboard were expert musicians, and the ships were richly furnished, all the vessels for his table, and many for the cook-room, being of pure silver, with divers shows of all sorts of curious workmanship, whereby the civility and magnificence of his native country might, amongst all nations whithersoever he should come, be the more admired." Drake was by now about thirty-two years old, and is described by Don Francisco de Çarate, who was for three days in his pinnace, as "of small size with a reddish beard, but one of the greatest sailors that exist, both

from his skill and from his power of commanding. His ship is of near 400 tons, sails well, and has one hundred men, all in the prime of life, and as well trained for war as if they were old soldiers of Italy. Each one is especially careful to keep his arms clean. He treats them with affection, and they him with respect. He has with him nine or ten gentlemen, younger sons of the leading men in England, who form his council; he calls them together on every occasion and hears what they have to say, but he is not bound by their advice though he may be guided by it. He has no privacy; those of whom I speak all dine at his table, as well as a Portuguese pilot whom he has brought from England, but who never spoke a word while I was on board. The service is of silver, richly gilt and engraved with his arms; he has, too, all possible luxuries, even to perfumes, many of which, he told me, were given him by the Queen. None of these gentlemen sits down or puts on his hat in his presence without repeated permission. He dines and sups to the music of violins." Prince describes Drake as a man of low stature but set and strong grown; a very religious man towards God and His houses generally, sparing churches wherever he came, chaste in his life, just in his dealings, true of his word, merciful to those who were under him, and hating nothing so much as idleness. In matters (especially) of moment he was never wont to rely on other men's care, how trusty or skilful soever they might seem to be, but always contemning danger and refusing no toil, he was wont himself to be one (whoever was the second), at every turn where courage, skill or industry was to be employed.

After making a start from Plymouth, Drake was driven back by a storm, but on December 13, 1577, he weighed anchor once more and arrived off Cape Cantin, on the Barbary coast, on Christmas Day. Two days later he touched at the island of Mogador, and by January 17, 1578, was off Cape Blanco. He landed at the island of Mayo, where a kind of fruit was discovered called the Cocos (the cocoanut). Crossing the Line, his ships were becalmed three weeks, "but yet subject to divers great storms, terrible lightnings and much thunders." Amidst this misery "we had the commodity of great store of fish as dolphins, bonitos and flying fishes,

whereof some fell into our ships where hence they could not rise again for want of moisture, for when their wings are dry they cannot fly." From the day of leaving Cape Verd Islands fifty-four days passed before land was again seen. On April 5 Brazil was sighted, and not long afterwards the ships entered the river of Plate (Rio de la Plata). About May 18 the fly-boat was cast off and burnt, and on June 20 the ships stayed awhile in a big harbour which had been called by Magellan Port St. Julian (Patagonia): "where we found a gibbet standing upon the main, which we supposed to be the place where Magellan did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company."

At Port St. Julian the *Christopher* and the *Swan* were broken up as no longer seaworthy. On August 17 Drake once more weighed anchor, and on the 20th he fell into the Straits of Magellan: "going into the South Sea at the cape or headland thereof, we found the body of a dead man whose flesh was clean consumed." The *Pelican* was now renamed the *Golden Hind* out of compliment to Sir Christopher Hatton, who was Drake's friend. By September 6 the South Sea or Pacific was reached; the next day a great storm arose and the ships were driven westward and southward. "On September 15 fell out the eclipse of the moon at the hour of six of the clock at night, but neither did the ecliptical conflict of the moon impair our state, nor her clearing again amend us a wit, but the accustomed eclipse of the sea continued in his force, we being darkened more than the moon sevenfold." Fifty-two days this storm lasted and the *Marygold* sank. Captain Wynter with his vessel eventually made the entrance to the Straits of Magellan on October 8. He then determined to return, and arrived in England in June the following year. By reason of this great storm Drake was driven as far south as 57 degrees; but it is recorded that he landed on the shores of Tierra del Fuego and learned it was an island.

It was not till October 28 that he was able to make definite progress on his run northward up the western coast of South America. On November 29 he put in at Mocha, where his men were taken to be Spaniards by the natives: "who laid violent hands on some of them and, as

we think, slew them." Making progress along the coast of Chili to Peru, he captured a Spanish ship off Santiago. There a landing was effected and the town of Santiago seized. Coming to a small chapel, "we entered and found therein a silver chalice, two cruets and one altar cloth, the spoil whereof our general gave to Mr. Fletcher, his minister." One daring exploit succeeded another, and the ship was laden by seizure of great treasure. At Tarapaza, where a landing was effected to procure fresh water, "we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driving eight llamas, or sheep of Peru, as big as asses, every of which sheep had on his back two bags of leather, each bag containing fifty pounds weight of silver, so that bringing both the sheep and their burthen to the ships we found in all the bags 800 lbs. worth weight of silver." On April 4 a ship from Acapulco with its owner, Don Francisco de Carate, was seized; he was well treated and released after three days' detention. To him we are indebted for the excellent account of Drake and the *Golden Hind*, already quoted.

Enriched now with great wealth, Drake directed his ship still northward. Reaching to about latitude 43 degrees, "we found the air so cold that our men, being grievously pinched with the same, complained of the extremity thereof, and the further we went the more the cold increased upon us." He determined to alter his course. Turning southward within latitude 38 degrees, discovered "a fair and good bay with a good wind to enter the same"; he there anchored and refitted. Hakluyt gives a description of his encounter with the natives, of how the native king and the rest of his following, with one consent and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, did erect a crown upon the head of Drake and enriched his neck with all their chains, desiring him to be their king. He took the sceptre, crown and dignity of the country into his hands, but for the use of the Queen, and in the name of the Queen, and "for two causes, the one in respect of the white banks and cliffs which lie towards the sea; and the other because it might have some affinity with our country in name, which some time was so-called," he named the land "Nova Albion." The bay wherein this landing took place was probably situated on the northern side of the Golden Gate near

Cape Reyes.¹ There was "set up a great post whereupon was engraven Her Majesty's name, the date, with the free surrender to Her Majesty, and her Highness's picture and arms, in a piece of six pence, of current English money, nailed under the inscription, with the name Drake of our General." On July 23 the bay was left, and some islands, called by Drake St. James, passed. Then for sixty-eight days all sight of land was lost, till the islands of Thieves (Pelew Islands) were reached. Departing thence Ternate was arrived at, where the ship anchored and a stay was made for three weeks. At a small and uninhabited island, lying not far from the Celebes, the ship was refitted and the health of the company recruited. The Celebes were next sighted on December 16, but in the intricate navigation of these islands the ship was nearly lost, for it stuck fast "in a desperate shoal for twenty hours" till the wind fortunately blew her off. Java was reached on March 10, where a stay was made till the 26th of the month; from thence Drake shaped his course for the Cape of Good Hope, which he rounded on June 15. Sierra Leone was touched at on July 22. On November 3, 1580, he reached England, the third year since the departure, the first Englishman to circumnavigate the world.

As the *Golden Hind* brought back great treasure, the Spanish ambassador demanded it should be restored and Drake punished. Elizabeth directed its sequestration till such time as the Spanish should reclaim it, and informed the Spanish that they "by their hard dealing against the English, whom they had prohibited commerce contrary to the Law of Nations had drawne these mischiefes upon themselves. That Drake should be forthcoming to answer in Law and right, if he might be convict by any certain evidence and testimonies, to have committed anything against Law and right. That those goods were layd up to that purpose, that satisfaction might be made to the Spaniard, though the Queen had spent a greater sum of money than Drake had brought in, against the Rebels whom the Spaniard had excited in Ireland and England. Moreover she understood not, why hers and other Princes subjects should be barred from the Indies, which she

¹ In John Seller's *Sea Atlas*, published 1678, Point de Monte Rey and Point Sir Francis Drake are marked on "A Chart of the South Sea."

could not persuade herself the Spaniard had any rightful title to by the Bishop of Rome's donation, in whom she acknowledged no prerogative, much less authority in such causes, that he should bind Princes which owe him no obedience, or infeoffe as it were the Spaniard in that new world, and invest him with the possession thereof; nor yet by any other title, than that the Spaniards had arrived here, and there built cottages, and given names to a River, or a Cape; which things cannot purchase any propriety. So as this donation of that, which is anothers, which in right is nothing worth, and this imaginary propriety, cannot let, but that other Princes may trade in those Countries, and without breach of the Law of Nations transport Colonies thither, where the Spaniards inhabit not, forasmuch as prescription without possession is little worth; and may also freely navigate that vast Ocean, seeing the use of the Sea and Air is common to all. Neither can any title to the Ocean belong to any people, or private man; forasmuch as neither Nature, nor regard of the public use, permitteth any possession thereof."

A large portion of the sequestered treasure was paid to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard who styled himself procurator for the recovery of the gold and silver, though he was able to show no letters of proxy or commission so to do. He made no payments to the parties who might have had claims, but spent it against the Queen upon the Spaniards, who maintained the war in Flanders.

The *Golden Hind* was brought to Deptford, and there the Queen visited Drake and knighted him. For many years after Londoners visited the ship; in fact, it was a regular holiday resort, where entertainment was found in a drinking and supper room. At last it so decayed that it was broken up; from some of the sound wood a chair was made which is still preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

In 1584 Elizabeth granted a patent to Sir Walter Raleigh for the discovery and planting of new lands and countries to endure for six years. By its terms he was entitled to search for remote heathen and barbarous lands not possessed by any Christian prince nor inhabited by Christian people, and there to inhabit, remain and fortify. There was further conferred upon him a licence to take with him such of the Queen's

subjects as wished to go (for her licence was required before a person could leave the realm). In Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, the soil of all lands to be discovered was vested in fee simple, with a right to dispose of them according to the laws of England or as conveniently might be; with power to expel persons attempting to inhabit the lands settled, and to stop persons trafficking there except English subjects and others in amity trading to the Newfoundland fisheries.

If we look at the three dates, November 3, 1580, Drake's return to England; August 5, 1583, when possession was taken of Newfoundland; and April 27, 1584, when Sir Walter Raleigh dispatched Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow to search for new countries, we shall see Drake's voyage round the world was of imperial importance, since it elicited from Elizabeth, in her reply to Spain, a declaration of the English right to traverse the seas and occupy uninhabited countries.

One of the greatest of the Elizabethans was Sir Walter Raleigh, whose handsome presence, tall, well-built figure, thick, dark hair, expressive face, boldness of speech and wit attracted the Queen's recognition. Fuller, in his "Worthies of England," writes: "The sons of Heth said unto Abraham, thou art a great prince amongst us; in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none shall withhold them from thee; so may we say to the memory of this knight, repose yourself in our catalogue, under what topic you please, of statesmen, seamen, soldier, learned writer, and what not." Raleigh was all these. Forbidden by the Queen to start with Gilbert on his Newfoundland expedition, he sought out new lands by others. On April 27, 1584, he dispatched Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow from the west of England with two barques, which arrived at the West Indies on June 10. Proceeding towards America, they made land to the southward of Cape Hatteras on July 2. "We smelt so sweet and strong a smell as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding in all kinds of odoriferous flowers." On July 4 the navigators reached what they supposed was the continent, coasting it 120 miles before they could find entrance or river issuing into the sea. On July 13 they took possession of an island, twenty miles long, not above five miles broad. Remaining by its side two days, on the 3rd "we

espied one small boat rowing towards us, having in it three persons; this boat came to the island side." One of the three walked up and down upon the point of the land next unto us, "then the master and the pilot of the *Admiral Simon Ferdinando* and the Captain Philip Amadas, myself and others," wrote Arthur Barlow, "rowed to the land, whose coming this fellow attended, never making any show of fear or doubt, and after he had spoken of many things not understood by us, we brought him with his own good liking aboard the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat and some other things, and made him taste of our wine and of our meat, which he liked very well, and after having viewed both barques he departed and went to his own boat again, which he had left in a little cove or creek adjoining. As soon as he was two bow shots in the water he fell to fishing, and in less than half an hour he had laden his boat as deep as it could swim, with which he came again to the point of the land and there he divided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship and the other to the pinnace, and (after he had as much as he might require for all the benefits received) departed out of sight." On the next day the King's brother arrived with forty or fifty men, "very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civil as any of Europe." The chronicler presents us with a charming picture of these men spreading a long mat for him to sit on, on which he did sit with four of his company, the rest standing afar off. When the sailors with weapons approached him he never moved "nor mistrusted any harm to be offered him, but beckoned the English to come and sit by him, and when they complied he made all signs of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwards on ours to show we were all one, smiling and making show the best he could of love and familiarity." Some days afterwards he came again, with his wife and children, she "very well favoured, of mean stature, very bashful, a band of white coral about her forehead, bracelets of pearls dropping from her ears to her waist." Although the Indians were mostly yellow and their hair black, many children were seen with very fine auburn and chestnut hair. The Indians were faithful to their promises; every day the King's brother sent a brace or two of fat bucks,

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conies, hares, pease and "divers roots and fruits very excellent good, and of their country corn which is very white, fair and well-tasting, and groweth three times in six months. In May they sow, in July they reap; in June they sow, in August they reap; in July they sow, in September they reap." The soil of the country was described as being "the most plentiful sweet, fruitful and wholesome of all the world, and above fourteen several sweet-smelling trees were counted. In ten days peas sown grew fourteen inches high." The King was named Wingina and the country Wingandacoa, but Elizabeth named it Virginia. The island was Roanoke, the mainland North Carolina; long afterwards the whole eastern seaboard from Florida to Newfoundland was known as Virginia. When the island was first sighted it was mistaken for the continent, but "when they had made entrance they saw before them another mighty long sea, for there lieth along the coast a tract of island 200 miles in length and joining to the ocean sea, and between the islands two or three entrances." We may look at the map for Raleigh Bay, Plymouth, Elizabeth City and Pamlico Sound, and then recall those happy summer days when Elizabethan ships first rode the blue waters by Roanoke, what time sweet woods, beautiful islets and strange wonders delighted the English, and friendly Indian faces smiled on them from Virginia.

The expedition returned about the middle of September, 1584, with a glowing account of this new land. The next year seven sail, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, left Plymouth for Virginia, with Sir Ralph Lane first governor, Thos. Cavendish, who afterwards sailed round the world, John White, second governor, and Thomas Harriott, who wrote a brief and true report of the New Found land of Virginia, a book remarkable for its large views with reference to extensions of industry and commerce. One hundred and eight gentlemen and others were left behind him by Sir Richard Grenville, but no favouring star shone on their fortunes, for supplies ran short and some settlers miserably quarrelled with the natives. In 1586, when Sir Francis Drake called on his return from the sack of Cartagena, the colonists begged to be taken back to England, and they returned to Portsmouth. Their return was due to the

failure to dispatch a relief ship; when that arrived it was found that the colonists had gone. Fourteen or fifteen days later, when Sir Richard Grenville arrived with three well-appointed ships, he made search unavailingly. "Yet unwilling to lose the possession of the country which Englishmen had so long held, after good deliberation he determined to leave some men behind to retain possession of the country, whereupon he landed fifteen men in the isle of Roanoke, furnished plentifully with all manner of provisions for two years, and so departed for England."

In 1587 Sir Walter Raleigh sent out three ships with fresh colonists with John White as governor. His daughter Eleanor, wife of Ananias Dare, on August 18 gave birth to a daughter, the first English child born in the New World; she was christened Virginia. Supplies, however, running short, at the request of the colonists White returned home for help. Raleigh sent out two ships in 1588, but attacked by Rochelle rovers they were obliged to return; and in 1589, when a relief ship arrived, the colonists had disappeared, and no traces of them were ever after discovered.

Harriott describes the commodities of Virginia as not only sufficient for the planters and inhabitants but for export, so that England could supply herself with much she was obliged to buy from strangers or enemies. He mentions hemp, flax, alum, pitch, tar, turpentine, resin, cedar wood, wine, oil, furs, deer skins, iron, copper, pearls, sweet gums and dyes; woad might be planted, and madder also for dyeing; sugar canes, oranges and lemons would grow. He specially refers to another herb "sowed apart by itself called by the natives uppowoc; in the West Indies by many names, and by the Spaniards tobacco," "the leaves thereof being dried and brought into powder, the Indians used to take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of clay into their stomach and head, from whence it purgeth superfluous phlegm and other gross humours." They highly esteemed it and thought their own gods were delighted with it, so they made hallowed fires of it and used it in their sacrifices and in storms to pacify their angry deities. In escaping from danger they cast it in the air and stamped, danced and clapped their hands, holding their hands up as

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they stared into the heavens, "chattering strange words and noises."

The first colonists took to smoking, and on returning to England popularized it, but it was known before, for Stow states it was introduced by Sir John Hawkins in 1565. Harriott also describes the potato, roots of which were planted by Raleigh in his garden at Youghal in Ireland; the potato was, however, previously known to the Spaniards. It was not in common use in England till the eighteenth century.

Many other sea captains at the close of Elizabeth's reign cross the films of history. Edward Fenton, who, sent to seek a trade with the Cape of Good Hope in 1582, was ambitious to make himself King of St. Helena, a project from which he was with difficulty dissuaded. James Lancaster, the Earl of Cumberland, and the adventurers to Brazil. In Hakluyt we may read of the exploration by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1595 of the large, rich and beautiful empire of Guiana, with a relation of the imaginary great and golden city of Manoa (which the Spaniards called Eldorado). At the time of the Armada the sea captains gathered themselves round England's shores, many serving under Drake and Hawkins. When the Armada was destroyed and scattered to the winds many expeditions were fitted out for the East, for the ocean seas were now open. Drake and Hawkins died in 1596. Hawkins succumbed to sickness off Porto Rico, one of the West Indies; Drake not long afterwards died in the harbour of Porto Bello, Panama. "His body being laid in a coffin of lead was let down into sea, the trumpets in doleful manner echoing out their lamentation for so great a loss, and all the cannon of the fleet discharged according to sea obsequies,

"Where Drake first found there last he lost his name,
And for a tomb left nothing but his fame.
His body's buried under some great wave,
The sea that was his glory is his grave.
On whom an epitaph none can truly make,
For who can say here lies Sir Francis Drake?"

Prince's "Worthies of Devon."

CHAPTER X

JAMES I (1603—1625)

JAMES I of England was James VI of Scotland, a man in the prime of life, extremely erudite; but he had been bred in a land amongst a people undisciplined, a powerful nobility of the feudal type, and a poor but well-educated ecclesiastically-minded middle class. It had been his aim to compose and unify all classes, but he had no intention of being lectured by the clergy. He considered that kings were appointed by God to govern and subjects to obey; although above the law, a king's duty was to conform his conduct to the law for the sake of example unless there was beneficial reason to the contrary. A wicked king God would punish; though rebellion was never justifiable, punishment might take that form. Feeling secure that all had been arranged to assure his peaceful accession, James slowly and triumphantly progressed from Scotland to London. The new monarch, who was now to take up the sceptre that death had taken from the hands of a great Englishwoman, was a man of middle stature. Sir Anthony Weldon draws a not unfriendly though somewhat exaggerated portrait of him, essentially true in its main details, "more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough, his clothes ever being made large and easy, the doublets quilted for stiletto proof, his breeches and great plaits and full stuffed, he was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the reason of his quilted doublets; his eyes large, ever rolling after any stranger that came in his presence in so much as many for shame have left the room as being out of countenance; his beard was very thin, his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him speak full in the mouth and made him drink very uncomely as if eating his drink which came out into the cup of each side of his mouth; his skin was as soft as taffeta, sarsenet, which felt so because he never washed his hands, only rubbed his finger ends

slightly with the wet end of a napkin, his legs were very weak, having had (it was thought) some foul play in his youth or rather before he was born, that he was not able to stand at seven years of age : that weakness made him ever leaning on other men's shoulders." Sir John Harington recounts a conversation he had with him at an interview : "His Majesty did much press for my opinion touching the power of Satan in matters of witchcraft, and asked me with much gravity if I did truly understand why the devil did work more with ancient women than others. More serious discourse did next ensue, wherein I wanted room to continue and sometimes room to escape ; for the Queen, his mother, was not forgotten, nor Davison neither, his Highness told me her death was visible in Scotland before it really did happen, being, as he says, spoken of in secret by those whose power of sight presented to them a blodie head dancing in the air."

The King had a strain of sentiment in his nature : "At his Court was an old servant named Gib who had accompanied him from Scotland. Mislaying his papers one day the King accused Gib, his protests were vain, James kicked him as he knelt, the offended servitor exclaimed, with injured dignity, ' Fare ye well, sir, I will never see your face again,' and immediately departed. On discovering his papers James was heart-broken. He declared he could not eat nor sleep till Gib was brought back. On his return (he had not gone far) James fell at his feet. He would never rise till Gib forgave him." James had a good conceit of his Statecraft, and if knowledge gave the right to rule the Commonwealth no man had a better title. In truth he was a very learned man. He could argue doctrine with a bishop, constitutional law with Coke, and the meaning of a text of Scripture with a Puritan. In his argument with Robert Pont, a Presbyterian, Pont told him "there is a judgment above yours and that is God's, putt in the hand of the Ministrie for we sall judge the angels saith the Apostle." "Ye understand not that place weil, Mr. Robert," answered James, "howbeit ye be an old theologue." Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, who had taken his measure, sometimes thus wrongly quoted Latin purposely to allow him to correct it. Of his vanity a story is

told that when a petition was presented to him by a gentleman he ignored it, and when asked the reason replied, "Shall a King give heed to a dirty paper, when a beggar noteth not his gilt stirrups." He was strongly attached to his children, and when his son Charles and his favourite, Buckingham, under the names of Jack and Tom, left England for the Spanish Court, Charles to see his intended wife the Infanta of Spain, he wrote them most affectionate letters. Buckingham was my sweet Steenie, the pair his sweet boys, my sweet babies. He wrote in a fever of nervous apprehension, "for God's sake and your dear dad's put not yourself in hazard by any violent exercises as long as you are there."

He was of opinion that every foreign and domestic question could be settled by the exercise of his skilful diplomacy. Accordingly one of his first measures was to call the Non-conformists to a conference at Hampton Court Palace to see if an understanding could be arrived at. Dr. Reynolds, their spokesman, suggested that their old practice of reading together to discuss texts of Scripture should be revived. Those were the prophesyings or meetings of the clergy which Elizabeth had suppressed on account of the abuses and disputes that attended them. Disputes, suggested Reynolds, might be referred to a bishop with his presbyters. The word presbyters pricked James like a spur. Presbytery, he said, is an institution "which agreeth as well with the King as God and the devil. Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me at my Council and all my proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say it may be thus. Then Dick shall reply and say, 'Marry, but I will have it thus.' " "If this be all they have to say," he remarked when the Presbyterians were driven from the room, "I shall make them conform themselves or I will harry them out of the land." His objections to the Presbyterians were set out in the *Basilikon Doron*. "They contemned the laws and civil authorities in making for every particular question of the policy of the Church as great commotion as if the articles of the Trinity were called in question. In making the Scriptures to be ruled by their conscience, and not their conscience by the Scriptures, and he that denies the least jot of their ground, not worthy to enjoy the benefit of breathing, much

less to participate with them of the sacraments, and before that any of their grounds be impugned let the King, people, law, and all be trod under foot." In an attempt to secure better treatment for Roman Catholics James proved equally unsuccessful. As toleration meant setting aside Recusancy Laws, he suggested the Pope should send a layman to England to discuss the subject of the Pope excommunicating the King's rebellious subjects. When this was rejected, since Catholic priests were increasing, the Recusancy Laws were strengthened, and James by proclamation banished them all from the country.

Of his children two only reached their majority. Elizabeth, who married the Elector Palatine, the Palsgrave, and Charles, who succeeded to the Crown. King and Queen had inflated ideas of their added importance as rulers of Great Britain, and James had a very good opinion of his own abilities. He likened himself to a man who had served his apprenticeship in Scotland and England, had become a journeyman, and was master of his job. The Royal influence declined; it is questionable whether James's virtues or his vices were most to blame. Wherever his own interests were not concerned his views were generally academic.

His first step was to fill the posts of Government, the major going to the English, the minor to the Scots. He appointed Sir Robert Cecil to the secretaryship of State, a position which he had undoubtedly earned by securing his Crown for him. From the Royal fountain of honour flowed a shower of knighthoods: 237 were bestowed in the first six weeks of his reign. It was said that "the sword ranged about and men bowed in obedience to it more in peace than in war." The stream flowed throughout the reign; those James brought with him "wanted means more than honour, those he found here wanted honour more than means." He could and did supply both to excess. Their multiplication led to their falling into disrepute. At St. Paul's someone put up a notice that he taught the art of aiding weak memories to a comprehensive knowledge of the names of the nobility.

For the King's entry into the City a magnificent pageant was devised, but such public demonstrations did not appeal to him. He was unlike Elizabeth, "that with a well-pleased

affection led her peoples' acclamations, thinking most highly of herself when she was borne upon the wings of their humble supplications." The Recorder of London addressed him as his High Imperial Majesty, for he was monarch of four ancient kingdoms, England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man and Newfoundland. On his marriage the Orkney and Shetland Islands were added to Scotland as the Queen's dowry. From his first crossing the border he was welcomed by thronging crowds; so warm was this welcome that an old friend of his remarked, "The people weel spoil a gude King." The future expectations of the City were demonstrated at a Temple erected near Temple Bar, wherein Peace was the principal personage, Quiet, and Liberty, with a cat at her feet, Safety and Felicity were his handmaids, with Tumult, Servitude, Danger and Unhappiness at their feet.

Two plots soon came to light, one to place Arabella Stuart on the throne, the other to seize the King's person; the Main or Cobham's plot, the Bye or Priest's plot. A strange medley of prisoners was collected, Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Grey of Wilton, Markham, Brooke, Watson and Clarke, Papists and Protestants. Grey, Cobham, Markham and Raleigh were reprieved. During his trial, even on the scaffold, Raleigh strenuously denied his guilt. The King summoned Parliament by proclamation, and told the electors what sort of men he would have them depute to the House of Commons, and not only exhorted but even threatened them in case they did not obey his proclamation. He declared that corporations which neglected to put his orders in execution should for such disobedience be for ever deprived of their charters. He addressed Parliament. It was far from being as subservient as he wished on the great benefits of peace for which he professed the greatest love. Although outside peace was a blessing, the existence of peace within the realm was of far greater importance. He expounded his religious policy, and on the subject of the union with Scotland he spoke with considerable force: "What God hath conjoynd, then let no man separate. I am the husband, and all the whole Island is my lawful wife. I am the head, and it is my body. I am the shepherd, and it is my flock . . .

as God hath made Scotland (the one-half of this Island) to enjoy my birth and the fresh and most imperfect half of my life, and you here to enjoy the perfect and last half thereof, so can I not think that any would be so injurious to me, no, not in their thoughts or wishes, as to cut asunder the one-half of me from the other." Peace was made with Spain in accordance with the King's desires, and Parliament passed an Act authorizing certain named commissioners to treat with the Scottish commissioners for a closer union of the two kingdoms. The project, however, fell through for commercial reasons.

The story of the reign is one long story of mal-administration. In 1605 occurred the Gunpowder Plot, which for a time brought the King, Parliament and people closer together. Thenceforward the Commonwealth was strongly and strenuously Protestant. A little before, fireworks had been introduced, and in the celebrations for the deliverance from gunpowder treason, they were used in conjunction with bonfires.

In 1606 King Christian IV of Denmark, the Queen's brother, paid his long-expected visit to see his sister. It was a memorable event in many ways; the Danes drank heavily and taught the Court to indulge in potations.

Queen Anne rebuilt Somerset House at a great expenditure of money, and she would have called it Denmark House. There she kept a separate Court on a scale of great magnificence. Prince Henry, the eldest son, had another Court at St. James's. Her Court was "a continued maskado, and her ladies, like so many sea-nymphs or nereids, appeared often in various dresses to the ravishment of the beholders, the King himself not a little delighted with such fluent elegances as made the nights more glorious than the days."

The relations between James and his first Parliament were not satisfactory. In July, 1604, he prorogued and scolded it. Among the grievances complained of, the most urgent was that of purveyance. After the Armada, as the country was short of gunpowder, means were taken to manufacture it. Two commissions were issued to search for saltpetre, and a general digging began, which by the end of the century had become a nuisance. Purveyors and their agents dug under houses and outbuildings and ripped up floors. The Englishman was

not free from visits by day or night. The right was claimed under the Royal prerogative for the defence of the realm. The judges assembled at Serjeant's Inn and deliberated upon the extent of the Royal prerogative. They considered it did not give a right to weaken or underpin houses nor dig up floors of mansion houses, nor of barns where corn or forage was stored, but floors of stables and oxen houses might be dug up so as there was no interference with horses and cattle, but the floors must be restored and the damage made good. Digging must take place between sunrise and sunset; any man who dug for saltpetre must send it to the King. He was free so to dig, for the King had no such interest as he had in gold and silver mines. It is not unimportant to notice that in 1604 the judges approved the maxim that every Englishman's house was his castle for his repose and security.

The abolition of the Court of Wards was suggested. The King took toll of the estate of every unmarried woman of property on marriage, and even of widows his wards who married without his consent. Parliament recommended that these old feudal rights should be extinguished, when the Commons would grant the King an allowance of £200,000 a year in their place (The Great Contract). The Great Contract, however, never received Parliamentary sanction.

The plague was sporadic, necessitating strict precautions. Anyone who, refusing to keep house when infected, wilfully and contemptuously left it, was deemed guilty of felony. It was felony also to practise conjurations, witchcraft, sorcery or enchantment. Conjuration meant conjuring of evil spirits in the name of Almighty God by the conjurer, to consult with him. Witchcraft was the conference of the witch with evil spirits. Incantation was the invocation by the enchanter which was generally made in rhymed verse. Many practised witchcraft, and for reward asserted they could declare where buried gold or silver or goods lost or stolen might be found. The practice of alchemy was an offence, for the alchemist asserted he could make gold by adding a fifth essence (the quint essence) to the four essences of earth, air, fire and water.

Early in the reign a hunt for witches began. In 1612 nineteen notorious Lancashire witches were solemnly tried,

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and ten executed; poor, ignorant creatures, the eldest an old woman of eighty. One even asked if a person might be a witch without knowing it. They nearly all confessed. Defamed, palsied with fear, starved for meat and sleep, and tortured by their jailers, confession brought them relief by death. Three were acquitted, said to be victims of a plot by a Jesuit called Thompson, who tutored the principal evidence, Grace Sowerbuts, to counterfeit possession and manufacture a story. His object was stated to have been to advance his cause by pretending to exorcise the fiend and revenge himself against women who had become proselytes of the Church of England. About one hundred witches were executed during the reign, but some three to four thousand by the Presbyterians when the Long Parliament was in session. Many condemned as witches used charms, old Roman Catholic rhymes, handed down from bygone generations. One may be quoted :

“Gabriel laid him downe to sleep.
Upon the ground of holy weepe;
Good Lord came walking by :
Sleepst thou, wak'st thou, Gabriel?
No, Lord, I am sted with stick and state,
That I can neither sleep nor wake.
Rise up, Gabriel, and go with me.
The stick nor stake shall never deere thee,
Sweet Jesus our Lord. Amen.”

By 1605 the actors had exceeding license and began to influence the Commonwealth by the wit, satire and moral lessons of the drama. The stage became a great educational force. The English players traversed England and visited Scotland. At Edinburgh in 1599 they had been cursed by the Presbyterian elders. James, however, interfered on their behalf. Famous companies visited Holland, Denmark and Germany. Sometimes with startling effects on audiences. Mimic representations of crimes led to disclosure of real crimes. Again a story is told that in 1600 a Spanish raiding company was marching by night to surprise a small English seaport town, when the flourish of trumpets and the beat of drums in a martial play frightened them off. Throughout

this period many great dramatists wrote; *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Tempest*, and other Shakespearean plays were produced. From the pens of Beaumont, Massinger, Fletcher, Ben Jonson, and others a wealth of imagery was bestowed on pictures of classical Italian and English life.

From the time when peace was made with Spain James conceived the idea of marrying his son Henry to one of the Spanish Infantas. Gratified by the King of Spain's treating him as his equal, he had in view a scheme to end religious wars by a matrimonial alliance. On Elizabeth's death England had obtained a proud position not held by her since the early years of the reign of Henry VIII. James was now stronger as monarch of Great Britain and arbiter of Europe. But his ideas were impracticable. He had not lived in England through the anxious years of the Armada, and utterly failed to realize the hostile depths of feeling involved. Extravagance of administration and unredressed grievances were constant subjects of complaint. On the visits of the King of Denmark and of another foreigner James spent a whole subsidy of £453,000 on drinking and feasting; and in 1614 he spent half a million on similar objects. The prosperity of the country, however, continued. Capital was obtainable at a lower interest; much of it was employed in building and furnishing houses, in improving the land and exploring for minerals, and seams of coal were opened in Durham, and mines in Yorkshire. The system of trade already sketched, the building up of industries prevailed. Brewing was now organized, the export of beer in English ships was allowed when barley or malt did not exceed 14s. a quarter. As the export of the manufactured article rather than materials for its manufacture increased Customs duties, so it afforded more employment for sailors. Material for making could be carried abroad by one ship, for beer brewed in barrels four ships of like burden were required. Employment was afforded by increase of tillage and manufacture, as speedy sale was found for beer. Deep-rooted objection, however, existed to monopolies, which Lord Coke declared were opposed to the Common Law. The feeling against them was displayed in Parliament. Some merchants had obtained a

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charter to trade with Spain and Portugal; they pressed for a like charter with France. But as Scottish and Irish merchants were at liberty to trade freely with Spain and Portugal, the request was refused and the trade thrown open. The Exeter Company found it necessary to rely on good works to obtain a renewal of their charter. They had relieved the aged poor, sold corn under price in times of necessity, and made loans to young men to start them in business. The Act of Parliament which renewed their charter recited that "the society from the beginning had ever been found comfortable to all and offensive to none."

The Crown soon became seriously pressed by want of money, and all sorts of expedients were adopted to raise it, such as sales of honours and an additional Customs duty imposed by an exercise of the Royal prerogative. Bate, a merchant, who traded with the Levant, tested its legality. The case was decided by the judges in the Exchequer Chamber against him. In 1606 the decision gave the greatest dissatisfaction, but £70,000 a year was added to the revenue. The condition of the people, however, was good and discontent from want did not arise. The nation was the best fed in Europe. We may note the fish, poultry, roast beef, provisions and bread consumed and compare it with the diet of the Hollanders of pickled herrings, turnips, butter, and pancakes made out of French corn. Few Dutchmen ate roast meat, but contrived a hodge-podge of flesh and roots which they boiled in a pipkin.

Cecil was created Earl of Salisbury in 1610, when Carr, a Scotsman, became royal favourite and Minister. He started his career as a page in James's Court in Scotland, but on succeeding to the English Crown, James discharged him as no pages were employed at Court, but only running footmen. After some adventures Carr found his way to London, where he was injured at a tilt at which James was present. On the King discovering that he had been with him in Scotland, he took him into his service and taught him Latin, which caused a humorist sarcastically to observe that he should have first taught him English. His rise was rapid, and he obtained a great influence over the King. In 1607 James gave him the forfeited estate of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Whilst Carr was vaulting into the saddle of power, we may turn to the Court of Prince Henry, the hope of the Commonwealth, Ben Jonson's Prince Oberon. Deep was his attachment to the poor prisoner in the Tower, Sir Walter Raleigh. He begged the King to give him the forfeited estate, intending to restore it to Raleigh, being used to declare that "none surely but my father would keep such a bird in a cage."

Raleigh was writing the history of the world, and he had already written maxims for Prince Henry's guidance. When the Prince was stricken with his fatal illness in 1612, Raleigh sent him his famous elixir. The Prince had taken a lively interest in the navy, visited Phineas Pet at Deptford when his skill as a great shipbuilder was being called in question; was interested in arms, the defence of the country, and the friend of literature and art. His pictures, for which a room was built by Inigo Jones, called the Cabinet Room, formed the nucleus of Charles I's collection. Whilst the Court was in mourning the Elector Palatine reached England to marry the King's daughter, Elizabeth, a marriage not pleasing to the Queen, who taunted her with marrying beneath her, calling her "Madame" and "Goody Palsgrave." This union, which took place on February 14, 1613, was freighted with great consequences, for through it George I obtained his title to the Crown, and Great Britain was presently introduced into the Thirty Years' War.

The Earl of Salisbury having died in 1612 at the early age of forty-nine, Carr became Chief Minister, learning such duties of his new office as he could not learn from his royal master, from Sir Thomas Overbury, a travelled, educated man, though by some esteemed an unscrupulous adventurer, whom he had met in Scotland. Carr, already Viscount Rochester, had engaged in a guilty intrigue with the Countess of Essex, "ambitious of glory and a woman covetous of applause." Desiring to marry Carr, she brought a suit for nullity of marriage against her husband, the King approving. As Overbury violently opposed the marriage, to get rid of him he was offered a position abroad. On his declining, he was committed to the Tower for contempt and there slowly poisoned. All obstacles removed, Rochester, now created Earl of Somerset, married the countess.

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The country was growing rich and gold was plentiful, so that a premium of 2s. in the pound was bid for it by foreign merchants. Coaches, but recently introduced, were now seen in the streets driven by two horses, some by four. Buckingham drove six. Racing had been started on Newmarket Heath with horses introduced from Scotland of Spanish breed, descendants of survivors from a wrecked ship of the Spanish Armada. In one of the King's progresses he saw from a scaffold or stand erected by the corporation a great horse race run on Lincoln Heath for a cup. The course was a quarter of a mile long, "railed and corded with rope and hoops on both sides whereby the people were kept out and the horses that run were seen fair." Seminaries or boarding-schools for young ladies now sprang up; the London season began with gentlemen bringing their wives and daughters from the country to visit the Court, the theatres, the lions at the Tower, and to indulge in a giddy round of amusements, match-making, card-playing and dancing.

Increased wealth, with ostentation and luxury everywhere displayed, was accompanied with hard times at Court. At his wits' end for money, James still did not appreciate its value. "On one occasion when in the Gallery at Whitehall and none with him but Sir Harry Rich (who was second son to the Earl of Warwick), afterwards Earl of Holland, a gentleman of excellent natural parts but youthfully expensive, and James Maxwell, one of his bedchamber, some porters passed by them with £3,000, going to the Privy Purse. Sir Harry Rich, whispering Maxwell, the King turned upon them and asked Maxwell what says he? Maxwell told him he wishes he had so much money. Marry, shalt thou, Harry (saith the King), and presently commanded the porters to carry it to his lodging with this expression, "You think now you have a great purchase, but I am more delighted to think how much I have pleased you in giving this money than you can be in receiving it."

The settlement of the Ulster Plantation by the London Companies with Scottish and English Presbyterians suggested the creation of baronets, a new honour paid for by the recipients, for the need of money was still growing. Somerset and others told the King that if he summoned Parliament they

would employ their influence with the counties and boroughs to ensure one to his liking. The Undertakers, as they were called—James subsequently called them Beasts—failed, “for such faces appeared in Parliament as made the Court droop, who instead of contributing to the King’s wants, lay upon his wastes, especially upon the Scots, the bread (by our Saviour’s rule) properly belonging to the children of the kingdom, and they beseeched his Majesty to stop the current of future access of that nation to make residents here, having enough to eat up their own crums.”

It was part of the policy of James to humour his Scottish nobility by providing positions for their younger sons in England. On leaving Scotland, he had said he was leaving for the Land of Promise, but the angry feeling engendered by this policy rendered the Scots for many years undeservedly unpopular in England.

Parliament further inquired why Popish recusants had increased, and Popish nobility were called into the King’s Council, wanting to know what marriage treaties were made and reasons for the miscarriages of Government. Unwilling to enlighten them and afraid to explain, James dissolved the “Addled Parliament.”

Led by the Queen, a powerful party opposed to Somerset arose, and a new “star,” the handsome George Villiers, scintillated in the Court firmament. Somerset and his wife enjoyed but a transitory triumph. In 1615 the story of Overbury’s poisoning, disclosed in Holland, reached England. Somerset, his wife and their confederates, were arrested, consigned to the Tower and subsequently convicted. All but the earl and countess were executed. After a temporary imprisonment they were pardoned, to drag out a miserable and despised existence in mutual hatred.

Fresh scandals constantly came to light, the Lord Treasurer was questioned in the Star Chamber for his imperfections and his wife’s corruption. “The lady keeping the shop and Sir John Bingley, her officer, crying, ‘What d’ye lack?’” as Lord Chancellor Bacon expressed it. The Lord Treasurer was fined £30,000 and sent to the Tower. Sir John Bingley, £2,000, with imprisonment in the Fleet. The State being without adequate means, the King now resorted

to benevolences which were far from being voluntary offerings, as their name implied. Subscriptions were asked to assist the distressed Protestants in Cleves; the money never reached them. By now all the moral feelings and material interests of the Commonwealth were becoming outraged and offended. James again turned to Spain in 1614 to negotiate a marriage between his son Charles and the Spanish Infanta, expecting a considerable sum of money as dowry. James had first made the proposal with regard to Prince Henry in 1611, but Henry died in November, 1612. After the dissolution of his second Parliament the King renewed the proposal for his son Charles in 1614. "Money he must have, and if he could not get money from Parliament he would get it from the King of Spain, as a daughter's portion." The Court of Spain artfully protracted the negotiations. Prince Charles and Buckingham (John and Thomas Smith) visited the Spanish Court; a treaty was concluded, including private articles; the restrictions so annoyed the Prince that he left Madrid deeply offended, and the treaty was broken off, at a loss of two millions of crowns to King James, but to the delight of the people, and Parliament, of England.

These days saw Spanish influences busily at work corrupting the Court. "No stubborn pieces of sex stood in Gondomar's (the Spanish ambassador) way, but he had an engine to remove them or screw them up to him. He ordinarily passed on his way from his house at Ely Place to the Court through Drury Lane (Covent Garden then being an enclosed field). That lane and the Strand were the places where most of the gentry lived, and the ladies, as he went knowing his time, would not be wanting to appear in their balconies or windows to present him their civility, and he would watch for it, and as he was carried in his litter or bottomless chair, he would strain himself as much as an old man could to the humblest posture of respect. One day, passing Lady Jacob's house in Drury Lane, she exposing herself to a salutation, he was not wanting to her, but she moved nothing but her mouth, gaping wide open at him. The next day her performance was repeated. He sent a gentleman to let her know that the ladies of England were more gracious to him than to encounter his respects with such affronts. She sent back

word that that might be true, but that he had purchased their favours at a dear rate, and she had a mouth to be stopped as well as others." On discovering her reason a present was sent.

The King's need for money had induced him in 1616 to release Sir Walter Raleigh from the Tower to seek for a gold mine on the Orinoco. Raleigh subsequently complained, with truth, that his designs were betrayed to the Spanish. The expedition was unsuccessful; contrary to the royal instructions, a Spanish town, San Tomas, was attacked. Raleigh lost his son, and Kemys, commander of the expedition up the river, in despair, killed himself. Gondomar was now directly responsible for Raleigh's execution, "for he regarded him as a man not only of high abilities but animosity enough to do his master mischief. Being one of those scourges which that old virago (the late Queen), as he called her, used to inflict the Spanish with." Raleigh was not tried for his conduct in connection with the expedition, but executed in 1618 under the old judgment passed upon him in the beginning of the reign. He died with manly courage. "'Tis a sharp remedy," he said on the scaffold, as he felt the edge of the axe, "but a sure one for all ills." As he laid his head on the block, someone objecting that it should be turned towards the east, he answered, "What matter how the head lie, so the heart be right?" Many years had elapsed since his original offence, which was almost forgotten. His death was regarded as a propitiatory sacrifice to Spain for his championship of England. James never liked him; it is said when Raleigh published the history of the world he detected his own likeness in Ninias, the effeminate successor of Queen Semiramis. Even after his death the King refused his assent to a Bill to restore Raleigh's son to the blood.

James was confronted with a difficulty on the Continent by reason of his son-in-law accepting the Crown of Bohemia on the invitation of the Protestants, who were in arms for the maintenance of their religious liberties.

James' consent had not been asked; no doubt if asked it would have been refused on the ground that one king ought not to support another monarch's rebellious subjects. As

Prince Maurice of Holland was almost absolute in Holland, uncle to the Elector, and a staunch Protestant, the Bohemians had in view British support. Frederick, suffering a decisive defeat at the Battle of Prague and fleeing from Bohemia to Holland, witnessed his Palatinate overrun by Spanish troops under Spinola, with little resistance offered except by some princes of the Union and an English regiment under Sir Horace Vere. Spain thought fit to assist the House of Austria, a younger branch of the House of Spain, so the quarrel was not confined to the German Empire, but was now become one between Catholicism and Protestantism.

During this crisis James did little except dispatch a few troops to the Palatinate. Halting between two opinions, he sent out a number of ambassadors to negotiate matters, really hoping, by means of the marriage of his son Charles to the Spanish Infanta, to restore his country to his son-in-law.

British feeling, however, sympathizing with an oppressed nation, accused the King of neglecting Protestant interests. "Why does he assume the title of the Defender of the Faith when he suffers the Protestants of Germany and France to be extirpated?" Amidst anger rising in the nation James summoned his third Parliament, for, if assistance was to be given to the Palatinate, large sums of money were required. Parliament now contained a number of men of first-class ability, many of whom were drawn from the ranks of the law. At the beginning of the reign the Common Law judges were very independent, asserting the right, as in the case of purveyance, to explore and define the Royal prerogative. The spirit of independence found its greatest exponent in Sir Edward Coke, who was justly described as a storehouse and magazine of the Common Law. In 1613 he was appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench, but in 1616 was forbidden to attend Westminster Hall. On charges more or less trivial he was called before the Council to answer for his conduct, his views not coinciding with those of the King on the subject of the prerogative. "If Coke of Coke sends for me," James is said to have remarked, "I must go." Trouble arose over an ecclesiastical case which was being tried in the Exchequer Chamber by twelve judges. The prerogative was in question, and Sir Francis Bacon, the Attorney-General,

directed the judges to stay their hands till the King's pleasure was ascertained. The judges declared the message illegal, and such as they could not yield to by their oaths. Summoned before the Council, eleven promised obedience. Coke proudly refused. "I will do that which an honest and just judge ought to do." When asked to revise some statements of law published in his institutes, he made a few verbal corrections only. Proving intractable to Court pressure, he was removed from the bench, but by reason of his great abilities was afterwards invited to sit in the Star Chamber.

The influence of the Common Law was clearly apparent in 1621, for amongst the lawyers who then appeared in Parliament were Sir John Eliot, Wentworth, Hampden, Selden, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Edward Coke and John Pym, a student of the Middle Temple. The House of Commons were face to face with an order that any member could be committed to prison if he spoke against the King and Council, in short, if he attacked the Government. There could be no real criticism, therefore, of public affairs as there was no liberty of speech. The Commons searched out old records and precedents; thus debates had come to resemble arguments in a court of law. If we regard this Parliament as starting the revolution, we see that it began as a reform by constitutional lawyers; a character for law and order present at its beginning continued till the close of the struggle.

The principal public abuses investigated were grants of monopolies made through the influence of Buckingham to Sir Giles Mompesson and his friends, for under the powers conferred upon them heavy fees and exorbitant fines had been levied on innkeepers, four-fifths of which had gone to the Crown, the remaining fifth to the Licensing Commissioners. A monopoly patent had also been granted Mompesson for making gold and silver lace which he was accused of manufacturing by the use of copper and other alloys. This patent had put the whole gold and silver lace trade in the hands of these monopolists. Parliament ended these, and interdicted all others, except for the manufacture of glass, the transportation of calves abroad and the working of alum mines in Yorkshire. Mompesson, a member of Parliament, was

heavily fined, but escaped personal punishment by fleeing abroad.

Two parties now appeared in Parliament, the Court and the Reform party. From the fall of Somerset Buckingham influenced the King; without previous administrative experience he owed his amazing rise to his handsome presence, social qualities and fondness for sport. Fearless of danger, he had a lively belief in his own talents, which, however, were far less than he rated them at. From the very first he was unpopular with the Londoners, who disliked his ostentation. When he was carried through the streets in his sedan chair, which he had introduced into the country, they followed him with curses, asserting he was making men his beasts of burden. His power increased—he was already a Master of the Horse, and Viscount Villiers was made an Earl, and Marquess, Lord High Admiral of England, and, later, Duke; his mother a countess for life, her eldest son Viscount Purbeck, another son Earl of Anglesey, her son-in-law, a private gentleman, Earl of Denbigh. The King, says Wilson, who never much cared for women, had his Court swarming with the marquess's kindred, so that little ones would dance up and down the Privy lodgings like fairies, it was no small sap that would maintain all those suckers. Buckingham himself was more intent upon his pleasures than his profits, but his mother, the countess, had regard to the latter in the disposal of administrative offices, "for most addresses were made to her first and by her conveyed to her son. There was never more hope of England's conversion to Rome than now," wrote Gondomar wittily, "for there are more prayers and oblations offered here to the mother than to the son."

Amidst the discontents at favouritism and maladministration, James was never personally attacked. He even enjoyed a measure of popularity. His declaration, "No bishop, no king," brought the episcopal bench to his side. Judges on circuit, in their homilies on law and order, eulogized the Royal authority, and England, though moved by extreme views, was calm and steady. In the villages on Sundays after service the people amused themselves in accordance with the Royal wishes. They drank their ales, ate their cakes, and danced. Public opinion became recognized as a force in the

Commonwealth. John Pym, recollecting the association which had been formed for the protection of Elizabeth, lent himself to the idea of organizing it. Continuously, books of all descriptions were published and hawked for sale with a cry of "Buy a new book." England was rapidly assuming her modern aspect.

Parliament was dissolved in February, 1622, not before Lord Bacon had been impeached, and pleaded guilty to corruption in taking presents from suitors in chancery openly. The practice was old and had acquired a sort of sanction from custom. This illustrious statesman, philosopher, lawyer and accomplished man of letters, the chief glory of his age, succumbed to the prevailing laxity of morals. Yet England can never forget what she owes to him in the region of thought. "In greatness, greater than a man; in weakness, less than a woman."

Before its dissolution Parliament had remonstrated with the King and sent a committee to him, who firmly urged the right of the Commons to debate foreign policy. Lectured by the King, Parliament replied by a protest that the liberties, franchises, privileges and jurisdictions of Parliament were the ancient and undoubted birthright of the subjects of England. This and like protests were landmarks we may watch as the Commonwealth ship voyages over uncharted seas to the haven of national government.

In the pictures of the years that followed we trace Charles and Buckingham, disguised with beards, starting on their romantic journey to the Spanish Court—Charles to see his proposed bride; the stoppage at Dover, where Buckingham disclosed his identity; how Charles caught a glimpse of dainty Henrietta Maria in Paris; the sojourn at Madrid, and the delights of the Spanish capital; the delayed negotiations for the marriage; the Infanta, styling herself Princess of Wales; the breakdown of negotiations, the grief of the King, and the joy of the people when Charles and Buckingham returned home angry to urge the King to declare war on Spain.

The difficulty of obtaining supplies still embarrassed the Court, even benevolences were not easily exacted. James still hankered for money without recourse to Parliament. On

one occasion Dr. Neale, Bishop of Durham, and Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Worcester, were with him. "Cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it without all formality in Parliament?" he inquired. "God forbid, sir," said the Bishop of Durham, "but you should, for you are the breath of our nostrils. What say you, Dr. Andrews?" "I have no skill in Parliamentary cases," answered the Bishop of Worcester. "I will not be put off, my lord, answer me presently." "Sir," replied he, "I think it is lawful for you to take my brother Neale's money, for he offers it."

A fourth Parliament was opened by the King in February, 1624, but all real power had now passed from his hands to those of Charles and Buckingham. The Commons wanted a naval war, Buckingham a war against Spain and the Catholic powers, and James a land war to recover the Palatinate. In any event a French alliance was necessary; accordingly a treaty was signed in November, 1624, including a marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria.

For Buckingham's entry into Paris great preparations were made. "His wardrobe consisted of twenty-seven rich suits embroidered and laced with silk and silver plushes, besides one rich white satin uncut velvet suit set all over, both suit and cloak, with diamonds, the value thereof is thought to be worth four-score thousand pounds, besides a feather made with great diamonds, with sword girdle, hat-band and spurs with diamonds."

In March, 1625, James died at Theobalds, and with his death it may prove interesting to refer to some facts in connection with the early settlement of the plantations, the story of which will be found in a subsequent chapter. The main interest turns upon the settlements of Virginia and the Bermudas, for it was not till the close of the reign that the New England colonies came into prominence. Amongst the men instrumental in the Virginia settlement was Sir Edwin Sandys, who, desiring to see tobacco grown under the British flag, secured a preference for that grown in Virginia. The New England colonists were also indebted to him for securing them a grant of land in Virginia. The colonists were mostly weavers by trade from the neighbourhood of Norwich. After they had settled some years at Leyden, two of their number

came to London in 1617 to obtain a loan from the merchants to carry out their projects for their journey to America. Although these exiles had left England by reason of the Recusancy Laws, they were still anxious to maintain a steady union with the godly people of England. Acknowledging the King's authority they needed English protection, for Spain had looked upon the settlements of Virginia with the greatest dislike. The Pilgrim Fathers had no quarrel with the English people; the *Mayflower* was purchased in London with the money lent by the merchants, and they sailed to America with the goodwill of London. On reaching it they did not forget England, but named their new land New England.

CHAPTER XI

THE PLANTATIONS

DURING the reign of Elizabeth England fought Spain to assist Holland in her struggle for independence. In the reign of James I she was engaged in a commercial rivalry with her which eventually led to wars. Two great sea empires existed before 1580. Portugal had planted her settlements throughout the Eastern hemisphere and in Brazil, but Spain was the dominating power in the Western hemisphere. In 1580, on Portugal losing her independence, Spain became virtually master of the trade of two hemispheres, excepting North America, into which she scarcely penetrated. For the story of the coming of the Dutch Empire we may turn to Linschoten, who in 1575 was young, living idly, as he tells us, in his native country of Holland, but reading deeply. He could not rest at home; feeling addicted to adventure and to seeing strange countries, he left for Spain and arrived at Seville, but was unable to realize his wish to visit India till 1583, when a new archbishop for Goa sailed, in whose service he found his opportunity. For six years he lived in India; on his return to Holland he published a book describing the geography of India, Raccan, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, China, Japan, Mozambique and Sumatra, their inhabitants, customs, products, and many other curious matters. In a second book he described the whole coast of Guinea, America, New France, Florida and the Antilles. His works, with the voyages of the English, prepared the Dutch for discovery, but a powerful economic reason also impelled them. Spain had prohibited their trade with Portugal. So long as they could obtain Eastern products from Lisbon they were content to remain the distributing agents for Northern Europe, but on the stoppage of their trade they determined in 1595 on new plans, founding two great corporations, the Dutch East India and West India Companies. In their oversea enterprises they employed many English pilots, one of

whom was John Davis, who anchored in the Bay of Acheen with a crew partly English in 1599. The most famous was Hudson, who in the *Half Moon*, starting from Amsterdam, sailed from Nova Zembla to Nova Scotia in 1609, thence stretching southward to latitude 35°, from which turning northward he looked into Delaware and Chesapeake Bays, and arrived at Sandy Hook, and ascended the river Hudson, which was named after him. Another of the pilots was Captain Melius, who had sailed round the world with Cavendish. He took service with Oliver Noort, the first Dutch captain to circumnavigate the globe. The Straits of Magellan the Dutch often attempted to enter, but they were repelled by tempestuous winds, rare hails, snow and sickness; even contentions lending their subsidiary assistance. Little less than fifteen months elapsed before good entrance was found. Ultimately the Straits were passed and Noort found his way into the South Pacific. He sailed through the Straits of Manila and put in at Borneo, where strange news awaited him. In the beginning of the year 1599 his countryman Verhangen had left Amsterdam with five vessels to reach the East Indies, but his ships were storm-driven and dispersed; one had anchored off the coast of Bungo in the Island of Kiusiu, Japan. Its captain was Will Adams, an Englishman, who was the first to land in Japan. He was kindly treated, his services there being ultimately so highly appreciated that he was refused permission to leave the country. The Dutch afterwards established a trading station in Japan; nevertheless, English traders were greatly indebted to Will Adams for the influence he used on their behalf.

In 1615 William Cornelius Schooter of Horn left Holland with two ships, the *Unity* and the *Horn*, in an attempt to evade the prohibition which forbade all Dutch subjects other than those employed by the Dutch East India Company sailing to the East Indies for purposes of trade by Magellan Straits or the Cape of Good Hope. He found a new route to the Pacific by rounding Tierra del Fuego. Its southernmost cape he named Cape Van Horn. Whilst Barentz, pilot of Amsterdam, Maalzoon, der Kyp, Heemskerk, the brothers Houtman, Jacob Mahu, Simon de Cordes, Sebald de Weerd and Dirk Gerrits carried the Dutch flag far south and east,

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Sir Edward Michelbourne, Sir Henry Middleton, Keeling, Saris and Captain Hawkins planted St. George's Cross in the remotest regions of the Eastern world.

Nothing was more remarkable in the history of the Dutch Republic than its sudden rise to sea-empire. In a country where timber grew but sparsely, it was necessary to import it, but no difficulties proved insurmountable to men who were constantly engaged in warfare with the encroaching seas. In a short time a Dutch Empire reared itself on the decaying fabric of Spanish world power in the Eastern hemisphere.

During the earlier part of the seventeenth century discovery continued unceasingly. In 1642 Tasman discovered Van Dieman's Land, or Tasmania, and sailed by a small portion of the western coast of New Zealand, the Friendly Islands, and other islands he named after Prince William. Tasmania he called Van Dieman's Land in honour of his patron, Van Dieman, Governor of the Netherlands East India Company. Captain Cook's chart, which is published in the history of his "Voyage towards the South Pole and round the world," shows the northern portion of Australia marked as Dieman's and Arnheim's Land, with the date against it 1618, Carpentaria, 1628. On the north-west coast of Australia G. E. De Wit's Land (1616) is marked, and on the south-west coast Edel's Land (1619); on the south Australian coast the land of Peter de Nuyts (1627), and Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania), 1642.

In 1600 the English East India Company was formed by London merchants and incorporated by charter. By its terms the company was required to dispatch six ships and six pinnaces to the East Indies once a year, London, Plymouth and Dartmouth being selected as ports of call. In 1601 Sir James Lancaster set sail with the first ships, bearing letters from Elizabeth to the King of Acheen, the Mohammedan ruler of Sumatra, recommending her merchants to him on the ground that she was leagued in friendship with the Grand Seigneur of Turkey.

The earliest English settlements in India were made in 1612 with the approval of the Mogul Emperor Tchangir, when a factory was built at Surat, and protection assured against attacks from the Portuguese and Dutch. Intercourse

was soon established with Japan; as the years rolled on trade with India became of increasing importance. Sir Thomas Rowe, who was connected with many great City families, was sent out to the Court of the Mogul Emperor on a diplomatic mission which proved highly successful. From the beginning of the century commerce extended through Sumatra, Java, Banda, Borneo, Malacca, Siam, the Celebes, and along the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. In 1617 trade was so good that East India stock rose to the value of 203 per cent. The Dutch and English East India Companies then concluded a treaty of friendship. It was not fated to endure, for in 1622 the Dutch suddenly attacked an English possession and massacred some Englishmen at Amboyna. Eventually, so great were the losses of the East India Company that it even meditated giving up business. It was actually compelled to abandon the Greenland Fishery and Japanese trade. With English ships now sailing to the Indies, the uninhabited island of St. Helena became a place of call for vessels on their homeward journey. A small settlement was formed, the place fortified, and the fleet regularly stopped there for fresh provisions and water.

Many illustrations of the trade rivalry which sprang up between the Dutch and English might be given. At Bantam both people built factories, the Dutch commending themselves to the natives by pretending that they were English. To undeceive them, on the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's birthday, the English ran up St. George's flag and fired off guns. When the natives inquired the reason they discovered that the Dutch were not English but a different nation.

From the Eastern we may return to the Western hemisphere. For years Spain had been consolidating her power, particularly in Central and South America, but the eastern seaboard was untenanted by Europeans. In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold, captain of the ship *Concord*, which was fitted out mainly at the expense of Sir Walter Raleigh, sailed from Falmouth. Reaching Cape Cod and coming to some fair islands, on one of which grew strawberries and other fruit, he named it Martha's Vineyard. The natives proving friendly, some of his crew stayed behind. On his return, influenced by his report, the London merchants in 1606

applied for and obtained a charter for colonization. An expedition was dispatched commanded by Christopher Newport. Two Capes, Henry and Charles, named after James I's sons, were discovered, and the first settlement made on the James River, where a town was founded called Jamestown after the King. On opening the instructions given by the company, it was discovered that Edward Maria Wingfield was named president and Gosnold, one of the council, to govern the colony. Three years earlier Hakluyt induced some merchants of Bristol to send out two ships to Virginia under the command of Martin Pring. On his reporting that the new land was "full of God's good blessings," a charter for colonization was obtained. Of these two companies the London, or South Virginian Company, exercised authority from Cape Fear to the Potomac River; the Plymouth, or North Virginian Company, from the Hudson River to Newfoundland. Both charters contained clauses that all British subjects, their children, and their posterity, should enjoy all liberties, franchises and immunities of free denizens and natural subjects as if they were born in England or other dominion of the King. Although not expressed in set terms these charters implicitly conferred the right to representative government. The settlers of Jamestown consisted of gentlemen, labourers, and others whose occupations are not stated. Amongst them was John Smith, who subsequently in attempting to explore the Chickahominy River was captured by the Indians. Persuading them that the English were friendly, through the goodwill of the Princess Pocahontas, daughter of the king, he obtained his release. Meanwhile, John Rolfe, a native of Norfolk, had left England for the new settlement; his arrival had been delayed owing to his shipwreck on the Bermudas. Eventually he married the Indian Princess, and some years later brought her to London. The story of her reception, and her sad death on the eve of her return, form part of the early romance of Virginia. She was buried in the chancel of St. George's Church, Gravesend.

The Plymouth, or North Virginian Company, made their first settlement at the mouth of the river Kennebec in 1607, where Fort St. George was built. Founded under the guidance of George Popham, brother of the Lord Chief Justice of

England and Captain Raleigh Gilbert, nephew of Sir Humphrey, the little town rose rapidly with its fort and church. They also built a vessel, the *Virginia of Sagadahoch*, the first vessel built by Europeans in America. But the winter experiences broke up the colony; scattered settlements, however, remained and increased about the Bay of Pemaquid and the Island of Monhegan, a region afterwards the headquarters of the famous Captain John Smith, where he built a fleet of boats in 1614, and explored the adjacent coast, to which he induced the King to give the name of New England. It did not adjoin the other plantation, for between them was a no-man's-land with a space of one hundred miles. The affairs of both the companies were directed by councils in London and councils in Virginia. As the settlement of plantations had now become an object of English policy, we may look with advantage to Lord Bacon's opinions on the subject. "I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure soil, that is, where people are not displanted to put others in, else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods, for you must account to lose almost twenty years' profit and expect your recompense in the end." "It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom you plant, and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation, for they will ever live like rogues and not fall to work, but be lazy and do mischief and spend victuals and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation." "Let there be freedom from customs till the plantation be of strength, and not only freedom from customs but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make the best of them except there be some special caution." It was desirable to treat the natives kindly. "Do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles but use them justly and graciously with sufficient guard nevertheless, and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss." The value of plantations to their mother country was great. Their produce supplemented the home supplies and provided abundance of raw materials. The fisheries of Newfoundland were

worth more than the mines of Peru. The plantations were not colonies in the Roman sense, but bore a close resemblance to those free communities which the Greeks sowed on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean.

During the reign of James I Jamestown was often in peril, but new settlers constantly arrived, and a large body came out under the direction of Lord Delaware. The demand for labour, however, led to transportation of convicts, and with a Dutch ship was introduced negro slavery. About 1620 forty-two ships were employed in carrying Virginian produce. Twenty-five years later the population numbered 15,000 white men and three hundred negroes. In 1619 representative government was established, "a House of Burgesses suddenly burst out," for every man had a vote. The Constitution was democratic, but the Governing Council was, however, appointed by the King. Virginia was strictly Protestant; her people much addicted to religious discussion, and her clergy peddling in factions and State affairs. At a later period it was a home for defeated cavaliers. Many American statesmen were either born of, or descended from, Virginian families; and in the old Dominion were the birthplaces of Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry and the Lees. Of the New England colonies New Plymouth, Massachusetts, was first in time. It was founded by the Pilgrim Fathers. Its story began in England. Bradford tells us of men and women shaking off the yoke of anti-Christ bondage, "coming from sundry towns and villages, some in Nottinghamshire, some of Lincolnshire and some of Yorkshire," where they bordered nearest together, to seek a refuge in Holland. As the men were betrayed by the captain of the vessel they hired to take them from Boston to Holland, in their next attempt they employed a Dutch captain. A lonely spot between Grimsby and Hull was chosen for embarkation, and women and children with the goods were sent on by a small barque to await on the coast the coming of the men folk overland. The Dutch captain arrived with his vessel, but was a day late. "The sea being rough, the women very sick prevailed with the seamen to put in a creek hard by where they lay on ground at low water; the next morning the ship came, but they were fast and could not stir till about noon; meanwhile the shipmaster, perceiving

how the matter was, sent his boat to be getting the men aboard whom he saw ready walking about the shore, but after the first boatful was got aboard and she was ready to go for more, a great company, horse and foot, with bills and guns and other weapons appeared, for the country was raised to take them." On their appearance the shipmaster weighed anchor and sailed away; "the poor men which were got aboard were in great distress for their wives and children whom they saw thus to be taken, and were left destitute of their helps and themselves, also some with scarce a penny about them, all they had being aboard the barque; it drew tears from their eyes, and anything they had they would have given to be ashore again, but all in vain, there was no remedy, they must thus suddenly part." The men left behind tried to escape, those only staying who best might help the women: "Pitiful it was to see poor women in their distress; what weeping and crying on every side!" Meanwhile the ship in which the pilgrims sailed encountered a terrible storm: "They neither saw sun, moon or stars" for fourteen days, "but when man's hope and help wholly failed the Lord's power and mercy appeared in their recovery." Apparently sinking in the trough of the waves, the ship suddenly rose encouraging the mariners to manage her. The refugees settled at Leyden, in Holland. "They fell to such trade and employment as they best could, valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any riches whatsoever, living together in peace and love and holiness, and many came to them from divers parts of England so as they grew a great congregation."

After sojourning at Leyden ten or twelve years they determined to leave Holland: "Not out of any new-fangledness but for sundry weighty and solid reasons," their choice lay betwixt Guiana and Virginia. With the assistance of Sir Edwin Sandys and some merchants of London a small ship, the *Speedwell*, was purchased and fitted up in Holland, and another ship hired in London, the *Mayflower*, of burden nine score (tons). The pilgrims left Holland about July 22, 1620, and found the *Mayflower* at Southampton awaiting them with the rest of their company. On August 5 they sailed for America, but the *Speedwell* leaking they were com-

pelled to put in at Dartmouth for repairs. Setting sail once more, "above one hundred leagues without the Land's End the master of the *Speedwell*, complaining his ship was so leaky as he must bear up or sink at sea for they could scarce free her with much pumping, they came to consultation and put back again to Plymouth."

After a voyage of much danger they reached Cape Cod, Massachusetts. After deliberating among themselves they resolved to stand for the southward to find some place about Hudson river for their habitation, "but dangerous shoals and roaring breakers drove them back," and they put into the Cape harbour. It was winter time, the weather bitter, "it froze so hard as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats they were as if they had been glassed." On December 11 a fine bay was found and disembarkation began, Miles Standish, Carver, Howland and others stepping from a shallop on to a rock, now known as "the Forefathers' Rock." On December 25 they began to build their first house for common use. The spot pitched on was outside the limits of the Virginian Company and not amenable to its laws; the town they named "New Plymouth." Next they settled their own compact of government in a document which was signed by forty-two persons; these, with eighteen wives, four spinsters, seven serving men, twenty-three boys and seven girls, constituted the first New England plantation.

We may note some Christian names of the children, "Remember," "Humility," "Resolved," suggestive of the mental tribulation of their parents.

By 1630 the population of New Plymouth had considerably increased, and four towns by then had been built, Salem, Dorchester, Charlestown and Boston. The colonists meanwhile received strong support from England, and leaders such as Hampden and Pym befriended them. At one time it was said that Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir Arthur Haselrig and Oliver Cromwell were on the point of departure for New Plymouth, but were stopped by Archbishop Laud. Religious dissensions soon assisted to distribute the population; some sought Maine and New Hampshire, others made homes on the Connecticut river. The books of Moses were everywhere adopted as the code of law for Massachusetts. Some settlers

located themselves to the south near Cape Cod, forming a government based on their own peculiar principles, which they called "Providence." With Rhode Island it became a separate colony, a pure democracy. The story of the growth of New England, so richly replete with interest, was part of the expansion of the English people in America. Under their new conditions of life a sturdy race of yeomen sprang up who cultivated their own freeholds, which they generally passed to their children by way of the custom of gavelkind; they were very free and possessed a bold and republican spirit. "In no part of the world," wrote Edmund Burke, "are the ordinary sort so independent or possessed of so many of the conveniences of life."

In the State now known as New York the Swedes had made an early settlement; they combined with the Dutch on their arrival, when the country was known as Nova Belgia, or the New Netherlands; it extended from the 38th to the 41st degree of latitude along the sea coast, and contained a good deal more territory than the present State of New York. The Dutch had their trading station on Manhattan Island. The country continued in their possession till 1664, when during the war between England and Holland it was captured by Sir Robert Carr. After the treaty of Breda—which ended the second Dutch war: July 21, 1667—New Netherland was changed to New York, and the country granted by Charles II to his brother the Duke of York. It then becoming a proprietary colony, the Duke subsequently granted a portion of it to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, and from Sir George his portion obtained the name of New Jersey, after the Island of Jersey with which his name was identified. Lord Clarendon describes him as being undoubtedly as good as, if not the best seaman of England.

Maryland, the charter of which constituted the first proprietary government established in America, was founded by George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, who applied for and obtained a tract of land upon Chesapeake Bay in size about one hundred and forty miles long by one hundred and thirty broad. Charles I called it after his Queen Henrietta Maria, since founded with her favour as a home for Roman Catholics, who were suffering from the persecutions of the

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Puritans. Lord Baltimore, his son, dispatched, under the command of his brother Leonard Calvert, two hundred Roman Catholics, coming of good families who were associated in its foundation. The first Lord Baltimore was a Secretary of State, and has been described as an honourable, sensible, well-intentioned man, courteous to strangers, full of respect for ambassadors, and zealously intent for the welfare of England, but by reason of these good qualities entirely without consideration or influence. As Sir George Calvert, he had been one of the principal Secretaries of State to James I, being created Baron Baltimore February 16, 1624-5. He died, however, before the letters patent granting the Charter of Maryland (Terra Maria) passed the Seal, and it was issued to his son, the second Lord Baltimore, on June 20, 1632.

Before settling at Maryland an attempt had been made to found a settlement in 1621 at Ferryland, in Newfoundland. Obtaining a charter he called his new territory Avalon—after Avalon in Somersetshire, where Glastonbury stands, the first-fruits of Christianity in Britain—as the “first-fruits” in that part of America. Desiring, however, a better situation, and the opposition of members of the late Virginia Company barring him from entering Virginia, he acquired the land north and east of the Potomac River and founded the City of Baltimore. Although all the churches of Maryland were dedicated in accordance with the ecclesiastical laws of England there was no oppression. Religious toleration was exercised although not legalized till 1649. After the Restoration Presbyterians, Quakers and members of other denominations flocked there and added to its population, which before had been almost exclusively Roman Catholic.

In 1629 Carolina, with the Bahama Isles, was granted by Letters Patent dated October 20, 1629, to Sir Robert Heath—Treasurer of the Inner Temple and Lord Chief Justice—and his heirs. This grant comprised all territory lying between the 31st and 36th degrees of north latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific; it included all the territory subsequently known as North and South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana. It was originally proposed to settle the Bahamas with French settlers from Normandy

but the project came to nothing. In 1663 Charles II granted Carolina to Lord Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, Sir George Cartwright, Sir William Berkeley and Sir John Colleton as proprietors. Their names remain perpetuated in its rivers and counties. The territory stretched from the 36th degree of north latitude to the 31st, reaching westward without limitation to the South Sea. Subsequently Carolina was divided into two colonies, north and south; its early constitution was chiefly settled by Locke, who framed fundamental laws for government. Instead of the King, the lords proprietors had power to assent or dissent from proposed laws; unlimited religious toleration was conceded to people of all denominations.

If we look at a map of North America at the time (1667) when the Treaty of Breda was signed, we see many of the West Indian islands already in possession of England. Bermuda, discovered by the Spanish captain Juan Bermudez in 1522, was lost sight of till re-discovered by Sir George Somers, a member of the South Virginian Company, on an outward voyage to Virginia, when it was called Virginiola. Sir George, who stayed ten months on the island, found it overrun by hogs, descendants of those landed from ships wrecked. The story by Sylvester Jourdain of the subsequent shipwreck there of Sir George Somers and Sir T. Gates in 1609, and of the storm, is said to have suggested to Shakespeare the play of *The Tempest*. Somers died in 1610. His heart was buried beneath the soil on which the town of St. George was built.

The Bahama Islands were discovered by Columbus in 1492. San Salvador, now known as Watling Island, being the first land sighted by him; then early history was extremely tragical. The population stated as forty thousand was transported by Ovando, their Governor, in 1509 to Hispaniola under a promise that they should be taken to the heavenly shores. The heavenly shores were the mines where they perished miserably. On his 1522 voyage, Bermudez never landed, the islands only being seen by him. As time progressed the islands became practically depopulated. We are told that although "1629 has usually been taken as the date of the first English settlement in the Bahamas on the

island now known as New Providence, it is now, however, proved that the Chroniclers confused two islands each bearing the name of Providence, and that the settlement in question was not in the Bahamas but in the Island of Providence off the Mosquito Coast of Central America." In 1646 by an ordinance of the Puritan Commonwealth, Sayle, a former Governor of Bermuda, and some London merchants were organized as a company, The Eleutherian Adventurers, to colonize them. In November, 1670, they were granted to six of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina.

Barbadoes, the most easterly of the Caribbean Islands, was named by the Portuguese Los Barbados from the bearded fig trees. It was taken possession of by the English in 1605. Twenty years afterwards Sir William Courten fitted out two large ships with the intention of establishing a colony; one only reached the island, when thirty persons landed and built Jamestown. A dispute as to its ownership subsequently arose owing to Charles I granting it, with the rest of the Caribbean Islands, to the Earl of Carlisle. It became a refuge for Royalists during the Commonwealth when under the governorship of Lord Willoughby. On its submission, its population was increased by the influx of many Irish and Scottish prisoners of war taken by Cromwell in his campaigns and sold into servitude. Jamaica, first known as the Isle of Springs on its discovery by Columbus in 1494, did not become an English settlement till 1655, when it was captured by Admiral Penn; the title was recognized by Spain in 1670 by the Treaty of Madrid. The islands known as the Leeward: Antigua, Montserrat, St. Kitts, Nevis, Dominica, etc., and the Virgin Islands have distinct histories. Antigua was discovered by Columbus in 1493, but not inhabited till 1632, when English settlers from St. Kitts landed. Charles II granted it to Lord Willoughby. After an interval of French possession, the English title was admitted by the Treaty of Breda. St. Christopher, or St. Kitts, was first taken possession of in 1623 by Captain, later Sir, Thomas Warner, M. d'Esambuc reaching the island the same day. A partition was arranged, the French occupying the two extremities, the English the middle. The situation was not comfortable. In 1666 the English were expelled by the French, but

soon after they recovered possession by the Treaty of Breda. The Islands Dominica and Nevis were discovered by Columbus, the former in 1493, the latter in 1498. Nevis was colonized from St. Kitts, and St. Kitts by Sir Thomas Warner. Montserrat was named by Columbus after a mountain in Spain on which was the monastery where Ignatius Loyala worked out his scheme for the foundation of the Jesuit order. Colonized by the English in 1632, captured twelve years afterwards by the French, it was quickly restored. The Virgin Islands, so far as they are British, became so in 1666.

On the east coast of Central America, bounded on the north by the Mexican Yucatan and on the east by the Bay of Honduras, lies British Honduras, which was first sighted by Columbus. It was populated by English adventurers who crossed over from Jamaica to fell mahogany and logwood. Before this a small settlement was established by a company, of which John Pym was the treasurer, on two islands off the Mosquito coast; the inhabitants lived a somewhat unsettled life under the protection of the Governor of Jamaica, the mainland then containing a singularly mixed and turbulent population. Honduras did not emerge into historical prominence till the time of the Georges.

British Guiana was settled in parts by the Dutch West India Company, but English settlements existed notably at Surinam. Taken by the Dutch in 1667, it was kept by them under the terms of the Treaty of Westminster, February 9, 1674. The West India Islands became of great importance to England by reason of their sugar; the sugar cane was introduced by the Portuguese into Madeira, subsequently it was transplanted to Brazil, whence the bulk of the sugar used in England came. The growing of sugar at Barbadoes made it an English industry, and when preference was given by Parliament the growing of sugar increased to such proportions that eventually it was sold far cheaper than was Brazilian sugar.

We may now advert to the growth of Canada. Nova Scotia was at one time the French Acadia, but it was not till 1604 that any attempt was made at settlement, when de Monts endeavoured to establish a colony at Port Royal and at St.

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Croix. He was, however, driven out by the English, who claimed the country by right of Cabot's discovery.

In 1621 James I granted the whole peninsula to Sir William Alexander, who was one of the brilliant literary band about the Court of Prince Henry, his eldest living son and his tutor. The Ulster plantation in Ireland had prospered so well that a similar policy was suggested for the colonization of North America. The charter granted to Sir William gave him the best portions of the Northern section of the United States and Canada. Charles I renewed the charter. Baronets might be made on payment of £150, an honour entitling the payer to a tract of land three miles long and two miles broad.

Sir William Alexander, scholar, courtier, statesman, colonizer and poet, was created Viscount and subsequently at the coronation of King Charles I at Holyrood, 1633, Earl of Stirling, and Viscount of Canada; six years later Earl of Dovan (Devon). He had a grant from the Council of New England, of a large territory including Long Island, then called the Island of Stirling, which he colonized, giving rise to the flourishing State of New York. His works were long afterwards read by Milton, if indeed Shakespeare himself did not read his "Monarchicke Tragedies." He died insolvent, but his "noble poverty" is the best vindication of his integrity.

In 1629 James Stewart, fourth Lord Ochiltree, established a colony at Baleine on the east side of Cape Breton; captured by the French, it was formally assigned to them in 1632; now St. Anne's Harbour. Nova Scotia by the Treaty of Breda also passed to France in 1667, but was finally ceded to England by the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

The foundation of Quebec is identified with the name of Champlain, born in 1567. He obtained a concession from Henry of France and Navarre, voyaged up the River St. Lawrence and founded Quebec. In 1609 he penetrated to the lake which bears his name. Soon French missionaries were wandering by the shores of Lakes Huron and Ontario. In 1604 de Monts reached Canada. Montreal was founded in 1641 as Ville Marie by le Sieur de Maisonneuve, Paul de Chomedey; Governor Montmagny, of Quebec, and others, on the site of an Indian village, Hochelaga; the name was sub-

sequently changed to Montreal by Jacques Cartier, from that of the hill a mile off which commands the city.

With the beginning of the seventeenth century wars on the Continent of Europe may be looked at with a larger prospective. The destinies of the New World were constantly fought for in the old colonies rapidly changing hands. In 1632 the English captured Quebec, but restored it. Holland, 1674, relinquished New York to the English, contenting herself with the English possessions in Guiana. The Dutch deprived the Spanish of Java in 1610, Sumatra in 1625, and drove the French and Portuguese from Ceylon. Brazil was taken by them from the Portuguese, who did not regain it till 1654.

The English, like the Dutch, were a commercial nation. They did not seek colonies by conquest, but colonies by settlement for trade. The Spanish colonized in the quest for gold; the French were a military race and their colonists set out mostly imbued with the warlike traditions of Louis XIV. The Spanish were cruel to the natives. The French, on the other hand, were well-beloved both by negroes and Indians.

CHAPTER XII

CHARLES I (1625—1649)

THERE is a well-known portrait of Charles I painted by Vandyck; the King is in armour mounted on a white horse, his squire by his side, a heavy archway and curtain fill in the background. As we look at the portrait we are inevitably attracted by a face on which the prophetic melancholy of destiny seems shadowed. Charles was of middle height, of brownish complexion, with long chestnut hair that drooped over his shoulders; his forehead was high but narrow; of a nervous temperament he stuttered in youth, but when speaking from the scaffold at his execution all traces of this disappeared. He had a certain charm of speech, a cordial address, and an engaging smile with something of the winning way of his grandmother, the Queen of Scots, in short, the hereditary charm of the Stuarts.

He was an artist by temperament, a patron of Rubens, an admirer of the Venetian School of Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, and Giorgione, a collector of Vandyck's paintings. He was fond of mathematics, and could converse in two, if not three, foreign languages. He disliked coarseness, and was æsthetic; but with it all he possessed a certain obstinacy of character and elements of untrustworthiness, which made his promises unreliable.

Henrietta Maria, his wife, was the daughter of Henry of France and Navarre. She liked the English, and years afterwards, though she suffered from the loss of husband and throne, "with the great men and ladies of France she discoursed in praise of the people and country of their courage, their generosity, their good nature, and she excused all the late misfortunes as brought about by some desperate enthusiasts rather than proceeding from the genius of the people."

Charles' marriage took place after his accession, when

his Queen was escorted by Buckingham to London. His first Parliament met at Westminster, the country being on the brink of a war with Spain. It assembled with a profound mistrust of Buckingham. Never perhaps before had a House of Commons consisted of more distinguished men. Many of them had first sat in the Parliament of 1621. Sir Edward Coke, the leader of the popular party, was in his 75th year. Many well-known men were representatives of boroughs and places whose names are forgotten by Parliamentarians, such as Newport in Cornwall, Ludgershall, Thetford, Castle Rising, Calne, Great Bedam, St. Germans, St. Michael, Wendover, Agmondesham. Cornwall then had forty-two members. The leaders of the popular party were not of the Puritans, although so dubbed by the barristers of the Inner Temple and members of the Established Church. They met in the House of Sir Robert Cotton, M.P., in Old Palace Yard, a distinguished antiquary and collector of priceless documents, whose name is familiar to every student of history. His house was celebrated for possessing one of the finest libraries in England, and was frequented by Lord Bacon, Camden, Ben Jonson, and other famous men. The party assembled in the gardens which ran down to the river, and within the house in 1626 Sir Edward Coke and Selden urged its policy should be directed toward the reassertion of the ancient liberties of England. Some years before, Sir Edward Coke had published his "Institutes," the first great law book written in English, which explained to the people their laws and constitution. So great was his authority that even after his death his private papers were seized by Charles lest he had left anything in manuscript against the Royal prerogative. The attitude of the party towards the Government was cautious, for the majority had no real knowledge of the plans of Buckingham. Parliament voted therefore two subsidies, which were clearly insufficient for the purposes of the war. Coke was informed that money was required to assist the armies of the Dutch and the King of Denmark to attack Germany by land, and to fit out a naval expedition to assail the Spanish coast by sea. After Parliament had adjourned and by reason of an outbreak of the plague had met at Oxford,

Charles personally expostulated with it, but without success, an incident which had occurred having destroyed any hope of confidence. Sir John Penington, in command of the *Vanguard*, with seven hired merchant vessels, had been ordered to Dieppe to be at the service of the King of France, "Against whomsoever except the King of Great Britain," but it was rumoured that the vessels were to be employed against the Huguenots in revolt at Rochelle. The sailors refused to sail, the Vice-Admiral even left his post. Receiving peremptory orders from Buckingham, Penington reached Dieppe; there he was told that his ships were destined for Rochelle. He returned to Portsmouth, and a further delay ensued. He was ordered to return and deliver the *Vanguard* to the French, but on his arrival at Dieppe the sailors refused to sail and returned home. Seeing no likelihood of obtaining money from Parliament, Charles dissolved it. Nevertheless, he proceeded with his plans and declared war. To provide money he issued Privy Seals for borrowing it from the people, and by these and other means he fitted out a fleet of eighty vessels and an army of 10,000 men to attack Cadiz. The expedition proved a failure. Sir John Eliot, one of the popular party in the Commons, described with indignation how ill-clothed and starved were the soldiers on their return.

Charles was compelled by his necessities to summon a second Parliament (February 6, 1626—dissolved June 15). It immediately adopted the views of its predecessor. Such money grants as it voted were coupled with conditions that Parliament was to regulate and control every part of government which displeased it. An old constitutional weapon which had rested dormant many years, but which had been withdrawn from the Parliamentary armoury towards the close of the reign of James I, was again produced. Buckingham was impeached; public opinion was so angry that the articles of his impeachment were based on common fame. To save his Minister, Charles was compelled to dissolve the Parliament.

The fortunes of the Continental war proved adverse to the British Allies. The King of Denmark suffered disaster at the battle of Lutter; France was heedlessly added to the

list of enemies. Buckingham sailed to relieve the Huguenots, then besieged by Cardinal Richelieu at Rochelle, but they declined his assistance. Turning his attention to the Isle of Rhè, so poorly did he there conduct affairs, that out of an army of 7,000 men two-thirds were lost. Returning to England with all his military reputation bankrupt, the wretched condition and wants of his soldiers and sailors walking the streets of Plymouth and Portsmouth were speaking witnesses to the magnitude of his failure.

Charles now retrenched expenses; he even put his own household on board wages. He had been obliged to pawn the Crown jewels in Holland—a debt he discharged by selling great guns which were forged in the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire, to the Dutch. Forced loans were raised, benevolences exacted, taxes levied without Parliamentary sanction, and those who refused to pay his demands were put in prison. The country was living in a state of martial law, with soldiers and sailors billeted on unwilling householders. Amongst expedients Charles adopted to raise money was the revival of the ancient office of Exchanger of foreign money; this office had fallen into disuse, and its functions had been discharged by the goldsmiths of London, but the ancient place for official exchange was still perpetuated in the name Old Change. From Old Change, near St. Paul's Cathedral, on the south side of Cheapside to Bucklersbury, ran Goldsmith's Row, consisting of an almost unbroken succession of jewellers' shops, strung with gold and silver plate in the windows. The legitimate business of the goldsmiths was to purchase gold and silver for purposes of manufacture, and not to exchange plate and foreign coins for English coins. The revived office of Officer of the Exchange brought some revenue to the Crown; and a new business to the goldsmiths. The merchants who hitherto had sent their gold and silver to the Royal Mint in the Tower for safe custody, finding it no longer safe from the exactions of the Crown, handed it to their clerks and apprentices to take away with them, so that it should not be found on their premises; but when the Civil War broke out, and clerks and apprentices joined the Army, they entrusted it to the goldsmiths. They lent it at interest to traders, and paid

interest on deposits. The country gentlemen left their rents with them, so that ultimately the goldsmiths were in a position to finance the Government pending the collection of taxes, and the way was prepared for banking.

Charles was compelled to summon a new Parliament in 1628. The leaders of the popular party did not now revive their proceedings against Buckingham, but determined to restrict the prerogative of the Crown. Sir Edward Coke was responsible for the introduction of a Bill of Liberties, which formed the basis of the Great Petition of Rights. When the Lords altered the Bill by inserting a clause, "Saving the King's sovereign power," Coke protested: "'Sovereign Power' was a new and dangerous phrase unknown to Magna Charta, and other Statutes of freedom. Take heed what we will yield unto. Magna Charta is such a fellow that he will have no sovereign." Coke's last great parliamentary success was soon after accomplished; members were debating a remonstrance to the King when Royal messengers peremptorily bade them prepare for prorogation. Buckingham's name was on everybody's lips, but unspoken. Many members were dissolved in tears by their tense emotions. The old man rose. "The author and cause of all miseries is Buckingham." The House burst into cheers, "as when one good hound recovers the scent, the rest come in with full cry, so they pursued it, and everyone came on home and laid the blame where they thought the fault was."

The Petition of Right contained little else than an assertion of Old English liberties. It was intended to explain and confirm these, but not to interfere with the Royal prerogative. It stated that by a Statute of Edward I taxation could not be laid or levied without consent of Parliament; by another Statute of Edward III, no loans could be enforced by the Crown. By Magna Charta no man could be imprisoned without subsequent trial; if not brought to trial, the Common Law judges had invented the machinery by which his liberty could be secured, by writ of Habeas Corpus. The return or answer to the writ by the keeper of the prison was required to specify the offence for which the prisoner was in custody, whether treason, sedition, or other matter. If no offence was specified the prisoner was entitled

to release; if a triable offence was specified, a judge and jury would try it on jail delivery on circuit. Many men had been imprisoned, and no return to the writs had been made. They were in custody by Royal orders. Magna Charta had declared that "no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or disseised of his freehold or liberties or free customs, or be outlawed or exiled or any otherwise destroyed; nor we will pass upon him, nor let pass upon him but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. We will sell to no man, we will not deny or delay to any man, justice or right."

Charles assented to the Petition of Right, but not at first by the usual words; on June 7, 1628, he finally assented.

In this Parliament Oliver Cromwell and Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, sat. It was a Parliament of rich men, and Strafford, by his moderation and by his abilities, was reckoned its leader. He had suffered imprisonment in the Marshalsea in May, 1627, for refusing to contribute to forced loans. His view was that Parliament had no right to usurp executive functions, nor the King a right to tax without Parliament. He differed, therefore, from the Crown and the extreme party. Parliament was prorogued, and a tragedy followed. John Felton, an ex-Naval officer, smarting under personal grievances, and imbued with the ideas of the tyranny of Buckingham, purchased a knife at a cutler's stall on Tower Hill, and with money borrowed from his mother, who had a haberdasher's shop in Fleet Street, travelled to Portsmouth. On August 23, 1628, when Buckingham was talking to Sir John Fryer in the hall of the house he occupied in the High Street, Felton, lurking near the entrance to a passage which led to the breakfast-room, plunged his knife into the Duke's breast, crying, "God have mercy on thy soul." Buckingham gasped "Villain!" and fell dead. Felton was arrested; on a paper pinned to the lining of his hat he had written: "That man is cowardly and base, and deserveth not the name of a gentleman or soldier that is not willing to sacrifice his life for the honour of his God, his King and Country." Although the English have always detested assassination, his crime was popular; the Navy petitioned on his behalf,

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and when he was conveyed from Kingston-on-Thames to London, the people followed him and saluted him with cries of "God bless thee, little David!"

When Parliament again assembled it was found that, notwithstanding the Petition of Right, customs had continued to be imposed, and merchants imprisoned for refusing to pay them. Divines censured by the House of Commons had received promotion. Parliament was dissolved in an uproar. The Speaker was held in his chair by main force. "God's wounds!" said Denzil Holles, "he shall sit there till it pleaseth the House to rise."

Charles now turned to the popular party and selected Thomas Wentworth, whom he soon after promoted to an Earldom, as his Chief Minister. Noy and others followed him; no new Parliament was summoned. For over eleven years England was without a legislature.

When Wentworth left the party John Pym told him: "You have left us; we will never leave you till we have your head off your shoulders." Wentworth was a most able man, but he could not see how Parliament could be both a legislative and executive body. The Parliamentary Executive or Cabinet had not yet been devised. His view of the Constitution was that "Princes are to be the indulgent nursing fathers to their people; their modest liberties, their sober rights ought to be precious in their eyes, the branches of their government to be for shadow, for habitation the comfort of life" (the people) "repose safe and still under the protection of their sceptre subjects on the other side ought with judicious eyes to watch over the prerogatives of a crown." . . . "The authority of a King is a keystone which closeth up the arch of order and government which contains each part in one relation to the whole, and which once shaken infirmed, all the frame falls together in a confused heap of foundation and battlement of strength." Good administration or thorough was his maxim of government.

The Church of England, under the influence of James, had begun to depart from the tenets of the strict school of Geneva to that of Arminius, repudiating the harsh doctrine of predestination. As Strafford advanced to power, Laud, who later was Archbishop of Canterbury, declared that dis-

cipline must be enforced in the Church and order in ritual. He stands by the Church door in flowing vestments, bows towards the East on entering the Church, bows always at the name of Jesus. To denounce stage plays as wickedness was folly; those of an indecent character should be reformed. The Puritan considered he was introducing Roman Catholicism in disguise, and this at a time when his complaints of the favours shown to that religion displeased the Queen. "God I beseech Him make me good corn, for I am between two great factions very like corn between two millstones." Uniformity in ritual, conformity by compulsion were impracticable. Laud spoke sorrowfully: "What clamours and slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an uniformity in the external service of God according to the doctrine of the Church all men know and I have abundantly felt."

Laud, the sponsor of another of the many Oxford movements, was introducing a High Church party.

During 1627 the Dutch met with great successes; dangers also threatened English navigation from the great increase of pirates. The Northern coasts were almost unprotected. London continued to grow; King Charles and Henrietta Streets were now laid out by Inigo Jones. Notwithstanding its increase in size, the population was crowded; hackney coaches were so numerous they blocked the traffic in the narrow streets. By Royal proclamation their number was so drastically reduced that even an envoy from a foreign State found it difficult to obtain a carriage in which to drive about.

From the time of James attempts had been made to acclimatise the silkworm. Charles continued these attempts in Mulberry Garden, near St. James's Park. The ideal of a self-supporting Empire found favour. The Commonwealth was styled an Empire and a Royal Commonwealth. By proclamation tobacco was ordered to be plucked up in England and Ireland, and the entry of foreign tobacco prohibited in order to develop the tobacco trade of Virginia. The merchants who carried English goods on their return voyage were able to freight their vessels with Virginian products. Manchester was rapidly growing, buying its linen

yarn from Ireland, and selling Ireland linen, and cotton and wool were arriving from Cyprus and Smyrna. To facilitate communication between England and Scotland a weekly post, London-Edinburgh, was started. Notwithstanding dissatisfaction with the system of government, and drawbacks that arose from the neglect of the Navy and increase of piracy, trade flourished.

The first Parliament of Charles had passed laws against playing unlawful games, unlicensed alehouses, and the profanation of Sunday. Two parties in the nation soon became distinguishable by their apparel; short hair was adopted from Germany; the Puritans were nicknamed Roundheads, after the Roundheads of that country. The cavaliers adopting their name from the French chevalier.

Between Charles and his wife coolness had at first existed owing to the King's intimacy with Buckingham. As this passed away, in his domestic and family relations Charles showed himself a most affectionate husband and father. He had learnt his ideas of government from James, whose earliest knowledge of a Constitution had been acquired in Scotland. The Scottish Constitution was far less advanced than that of England; there had never been a Scottish Magna Charta nor a Scottish Simon de Montfort. The Parliament was a meeting of three estates in one chamber, the first consisting of the Archbishops and Bishops, the second of the greater Barons, and the third of Commissioners elected by the lesser Barons, two from each shire, with Commissioners from the Royal Boroughs. Parliament was little more than the King's baronial court, and proceedings could take place in the absence of one estate. The legislative power was vested in the King; the estates merely consented. The King had a negative by which he could not only prevent any Act from passing, but even any overture to be first debated. To secure the Crown against faction in open Parliament Lords of the articles were selected, eight from each estate, chosen by a system which ensured a favourable majority for the Crown. The Lords of the articles and the officers of state determined what laws or overtures should be brought before Parliament. The King was the author and fountain of all power, an absolute prince, having as much power as

any king or potentate whatever, and deriving his power from God Almighty, and not from the people. His special privileges were called his prerogative royal. He only could make peace or war, call Parliaments, conventions, convocations of the clergy, and make laws. Any meeting called without his special command was punishable. He was supreme in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil, and his Privy Council was constituted by his special commission. There was no Common Law in Scotland. The Common Law meant the Civil Law of the Romans.

In 1633 Charles was crowned King of Scotland at Holyrood. Laud's interference with Scottish forms of religion and attempts to establish the English Episcopal Church met with cries of "No Popery." The Lowlands of Scotland were ablaze; men leagued themselves by solemn engagements to resist to the death for Church and Covenant.

Did England acquiesce in government without Parliament? Unquestionably not. But Parliament could meet only if it were summoned. The popular leaders busied themselves on other matters. Sir Edward Coke retired to Stoke Poges; to another Buckinghamshire village, Horton, near Wraysbury, John Milton betook himself, where he spent six years of his life. During his stay at Horton he wrote "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso." Politicians and religious enthusiasts directed their attention to New England. Meetings took place in Gray's Inn Lane of undertakers for settling the government of new plantations in New Providence and the Islands of the Caribbean Sea. William Fiennes, first Viscount Say and Sele, with John Pym and others, busied themselves in schemes for developing settlements on the Connecticut River and in New Hampshire. Many leaders proposed to embark for America.

The necessities of finance led to the suggestion that ship money should be imposed upon the inland counties; by the custom of the realm the sea ports provided in times of danger ships, but a tax had never been levied on the inland counties. It was urged that the country was practically in a state of war, for merchant vessels were constantly captured in sight of England. A tax was imposed at the instance of William Noy, Attorney-General. John Hampden tested the

law. In his case no great sum was at stake, but a great principle; his liability was probably to the extent of twenty shillings. On June 12, 1638, judgment was given against him by seven judges, three of whom dissented, two on technical grounds. The correctness of the judgments was impugned, the right of the Crown to impose taxation without consent of Parliament was brought before the bar of public opinion, and Charles let the matter drop.

Already serious trouble had arisen with Scotland. In 1637 the Scots invaded England, and in two campaigns the forces of Charles were defeated. As a condition of peace in 1640 he agreed to pay £25,000 a month to the Scottish Army, who were to keep Durham and Northumberland in pledge till full payment was made. Finding it impossible to raise the money, a Parliament was summoned, but was swiftly dissolved. Matters were not improved; a fresh Parliament was necessary, and on November 3, 1640, the Long Parliament began its momentous sittings. Strafford was in London, Charles having guaranteed his personal safety, but the House of Commons resolved to impeach him. The Lords, his judges, hesitated; treason could not be constituted from acts which were not reckoned treason when they were committed. The popular leaders in the House of Commons were alarmed, for Strafford was far too able a man to be allowed to escape. An Act of Attainder was resolved upon, and a Bill passed through both Houses. The Lords yielded to the clamour of thousands who assembled in Palace Yard demanding justice upon Strafford. The Royal assent had yet to be gained, and threats were now raised of impeaching the Queen. Strafford advised Charles to give his assent. He might have expected some nobility of character in his Royal master, but he was deceived. He wrote to the King: "To a willing man there is no injury done." He is reported to have said: "Put not your trust in Princes." Whatever estimate be formed of the character or administration of Strafford, few will doubt the injustice of the proceedings which condemned him to death. "Was it well that the beginning of the people's happiness should be written in blood?" One hundred and forty-nine years later when the American people framed their Constitution,

they found no place for acts of attainder nor for *Ex post facto* legislation. Strafford was executed on May 12, 1641. Even a friend was forbidden to visit him; but he was told that he might petition the Commons. He said: "I've gotten my dispatch from them, and I will trouble them no more; I am now petitioning a higher court, where neither partiality can be expected nor error feared." On the scaffold he declared: "I am not afraid of death, nor daunted with any discouragement arising from my fears, but do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed." When leaving for the place of execution, Laud looked down at him from his window in the Tower but, overcome with his emotion, fainted. On January 10, 1645, Laud was executed, an old man in his 72nd year; he declared that he had always lived in the Protestant Church of England.

The Long Parliament began work by asserting the sole right of Parliament to vote subsidies of customs; but in voting them it followed the example of Charles in granting a preference on colonial tobacco. It abolished the Star Chamber, jurisdiction of the Privy Council, and all other Courts which had far exceeded the powers originally given them. The Stannary Court was reformed, the abuses of markets corrected, and the monopoly for manufacturing gunpowder ended. These were all crying abuses which had gradually grown up, but had long survived the necessities for which they had been created. Money was raised to alleviate the distress in Ireland, the conditions of the Navy, and to provide for the national necessities. The judgment of the judges in the case of ship money, which had been decided against Hampden, was declared to be of no effect, not on the ground that it was erroneous, but because the judges' opinions had been obtained before the case had been heard. Another Act of profound importance declared that Parliament should not be dissolved without its consent.

In November, 1641, a rebellion broke out in Ireland. The Long Parliament displayed its religious bent by an attack on the Church. Twelve bishops who were hindered from taking their seats in the Lords protested; their protests were construed as treason, and they were committed to the

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Tower. In January, 1642, Charles made an attempt to assert his authority by seizing five members of Parliament whom he considered most obnoxious; amongst them were Hampden and Pym. Pym—told, it is said, of the King's contemplated action by the Countess of Carlisle, who had numbered Strafford and Pym amongst her friends, and had never forgotten the King's betrayal of Strafford—warned his fellow-members, who fled to the City, now seething with rebellion; it was becoming clear that force must decide the issue between King and Parliament. In March the Queen was sent to France to pledge the Crown jewels to purchase arms, and Charles left London for the North of England, parties now negotiating and manœuvring for time. On August 22, 1642, the Royal Standard was unfurled at Nottingham, and the Civil War commenced.

There were mournful hearts then. One of the saddest was that of Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland, who possessed a nature full of large wisdom and gentle tolerance, who was wonderfully beloved by all who knew him as a man of excellent parts, of a wit so sharp and a nature so sincere that nothing could be more lovely. Falkland was a member of the Short and Long Parliaments before war broke out, then he with many others joined the side of Charles, becoming Secretary of State; a great rally took place to the Crown; many satisfied with the reforms doubted the wisdom of violent measures. Falkland became very sorrowful, "his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of the spirit stole upon him which he had never been used to." At the siege of Gloucester, "even amongst his friends, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, he would with a shrill and sad accent ingeminate peace, peace, and would passionately profess that the very agony of the war and the view of the calamities and destruction which the kingdom did and must endure took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart." On September 20, 1643, he met his fate at Newbury. "Dressing himself in clean linen as one going to a banquet, he explained to the bystanders the grounds of the joy which was rooted in sorrow. He was weary, he said, but he would be out of it by night. Riding at a gap in the hedge through

which bullets poured, everyone else standing aloof, he was shot down in an instant."

During the war many attempts were made to negotiate peace; they failed. Charles constantly received accessions of strength from the rally of moderate elements to his side. The Church joined him, at the end of the first Civil War the Presbyterians, but Charles never saw his way to limit his prerogative. He thought that the executive could not be controlled by Parliament. On the scaffold he spoke freely on the subject: "Liberty and freedom of the people he desired as much as anybody; this liberty and freedom consist of having of government those laws by which their life and their good may be most their own. It is not having a share in government, Sirs, that is nothing pertaining to them."

The constitutional problem was to discover a workable scheme of government which would give effect to the national wishes. Neither side produced one. In his struggle with Parliament it may be observed that Charles in some measure acted on the defensive. He had succeeded to a form of government and claimed that Parliament sought to usurp his rights, but he failed to understand that the time had come when abstract rights must yield to the people's wishes.

In the fierce conflicts which deluged the pleasant countryside of England with blood we note how parliamentary strength lay in the Eastern and South-Eastern counties and London, and how the Royal strength gathered in the Northern and South-Western counties and Wales. Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire and Warwick, leaning towards the Parliament, interposed a barrier dividing the two great Royalist centres. The war was one of swaying contests, struggles in the South-West between Sir Ralph Hopton and the Earl of Stamford, battles in Yorkshire between the Earl of Newcastle and Lord Fairfax, forays by Prince Rupert from the Royal headquarters at Oxford. At Chalgrove Field near Chinnor, in Buckinghamshire, Hampden fell, wounded, with hands leaning on the neck of his horse and head drooping; he left the field to die at Thame. "A gallant man, an honest man, an able man, take all

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I know not to any living man second," wrote Colonel Goodwin.

There was a time when the Parliamentary cause seemed declining. At first the war was controlled by committees of safety, solemn covenants were entered into and associations formed. Cromwell then enlisted his Ironsides, godly soldiers of whom not a man swore but paid his twelvenpence.

In the closing months of 1644 fresh terms were proposed; it was suggested Parliament should settle a form of religion in accord with a covenant with no toleration for anyone who differed. Every man was to swear to observance; the Royal power was to be reduced to zero. Charles refused the terms. "There are three things I will not part with—the Church, my Crown and my friends—and you will have much ado to get them from me." During the war a War Executive was formed, consisting of twenty-one English and four Scottish members, Presbyterianism in England and Scotland standing side by side. More was required than religious enthusiasm. Military commanders must not be selected from the ranks of members of Parliament, and the Army must be reorganized on a new model with regular pay, firm discipline and social equality in the ranks.

Cromwell indicated the changes required on December 9, 1644, when the House of Commons was sitting in grand committee, "unusually grave and silent": "Without a more speedy, vigorous and effectual prosecution of the war, casting off all lingering proceedings like those of soldiers of fortune beyond sea to spin out a war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us and hate the name of Parliament." . . . "I do conceive if the army be not put into another method and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace." We may now mark the sequence of events: the passing of the self-denying ordinance by which members of both Houses of Parliament disqualified themselves from accepting Army Commands, and the formation of the new model army. We may also note a small thing on the surface, but one which was fraught with great consequences: the passing of an accommodation order for the appointment of a committee to consider differences on the

subject of Church-going, and failing any agreement to devise some means of tolerating tender consciences. Freedom of conscience, as a new principle, emerged from the stormy waters of religious controversy. Sir Henry Vane, the younger, had stepped into the place of Leader of the House of Commons by the death of Pym and recommended this new principle. "Vane whom we trusted most," said Baillie, most learned of Scotch Presbyterians, "even at the table of the Scottish members of the Westminster Assembly prolixly, earnestly and passionately reasoned for a full liberty of conscience to all religions." A miniature General Election took place to fill up vacancies in the House of Commons, when new members were returned called Recruiters—Fleetwood, Blake, Ireton, Ludlow, Hutcheson and Algernon Sidney sharing Vane's views.

The first Civil War was practically over when Cromwell's new model army, well paid, well disciplined and full of religious zeal, broke the cavalier ranks at Naseby. In October, 1645, it finally ended with the fall of the Marquess of Winchester and the storming of Basing House. John Paulet (or Powlett), fifth Marquess of Winchester, was colonel of a regiment of foot 1643, and held, as a royal garrison, his own princely house at Basing. For his fidelity to the Crown he was generally known as "The loyal Marquess." The siege lasted from August, 1643, to October 16, 1645, when Basing House was burnt to the ground and sacked by Cromwell. The goods therein were said to amount to £200,000 in value. On every window was inscribed, *Aimez loyaulté*. One of Landseer's most celebrated pictures depicts the scene.

The Revolution thus triumphantly ended; the King, a fugitive in the hands of the Scots. Subsequently he was delivered to the Commissioners of the Parliament, and ultimately imprisoned in Hampton Court Palace. Soon afterwards a quarrel broke out between Parliament and the Army, the majority in Parliament supported by the City; the minority by the Army. The Army demanded that its arrears of pay should be met and declined to be disbanded. It also had certain views which it insisted must be given effect to. Was the City of London prepared to refuse its request? The Army leaders set out their demands in a letter to the Mayor,

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Aldermen and Common Council. "If after all this you or a considerable of you be seduced to take up arms in opposition to, or hindrance from these our just undertakings, we hope we have by this brotherly premonition, to the sincerity of which we call God to witness, freed ourselves from all that ruin which may befall that great and prosperous City, having thereby washed our hands thereof." Power now began to pass from the civil to the military authority, but not without some semblance of a struggle. The Army, 21,000 soldiers in all, approached London. Parliament felt inclined to adopt their views, hesitated, and then repented. The Army again moved nearer, the shops of London were shut more than once, the soldiers insisting on arrears of pay were not unlikely to help themselves from the goldsmiths' shops in Cheapside. Six weeks of the summer passed, full of dramatic and threatening events. Eleven members of the House of Commons, whom the Army disliked, were told that it would be as well if they absented themselves for six months. The majority in the House of Commons was on the decline. Occasionally a member would pluck up courage and defy the Army, encouraged by the City apprentices and others, who attended Westminster, keeping the doors open and constantly shouting, "Vote! Vote!" But force was stronger than Parliament, the day arrived when the Army marched in triumph three deep by Hyde Park into the City and a settlement was reached. On November 12 Charles suddenly escaped from Hampton Court Palace, passing by way of the back stairs through the vaults to the waterside. On reaching the Isle of Wight he found himself once more a prisoner. A mutiny now broke out amongst the rank and file of the Army, instigated by John Lilburne and the Levellers. The soldiers chose agitators, or adjutators, to present their views to the Army Council concerning the nature of the future Commonwealth. There must be one paramount unalterable law establishing religious freedom, a one-chamber government, no king or lords, and every man should have a vote. A meeting took place in Old Putney Church, where Cromwell took the chair. Wildman and others were prepared to argue matters on behalf of the Army. They were told free discussions were permissible though they might lead to no

results. The Council of the Army said Cromwell was not glued to forms of government, it was, however, prepared to stand by the doctrine that the foundation and supremacy was in the people. Another meeting took place in Old Putney Church when Cromwell was again in the chair, and an inquiry was made as to whether the Army might not appeal from the decision of the Army Council to the Army itself. The answer was that it was impossible, all officers and agitators must at once return to their regiments. The Army Council insisted upon discipline. Another scene followed at Cockbush Field, when two regiments of soldiers who had been ordered to go elsewhere appeared on the field with bills in their hats, inscribed with the words, "The agreement of the people, England's freedom, soldiers' rights." Cromwell rode into Lilburne's regiment with sword drawn and bade the men remove their papers from their hats. They obeyed him; three of the ringleaders were then selected, unfortunate gamblers to throw dice for the stakes of life, the lowest throw meaning death. Mutiny was quenched in sight of all.

With the spring of 1648 a second Civil War broke out, Wales fervently Royalist raised the Royal standard, Scotland was aflame, men rose in Surrey, Kent and Colchester; Charles was looking for foreign help from Holland and Ireland. In the campaign that ensued Cromwell displayed his great military qualities, success following success; the Scottish Royalist Hamilton was defeated at Preston and surrendered; in defence of Presbyterianism from the West of Scotland towards Edinburgh and Leith marched the Whiggamores, Presbyterians all, their ministers marching at the head of the parishes with an unheard-of fury, praying and preaching all the way. Leslie, their leader, joined with the Duke of Argyle at Edinburgh. The authority of the Commonwealth proved paramount. The scene shifts to London. There were cries from the Army, becoming more articulate and increasing in number and intensity, for judgment on the King and sentence of death. A short treatise was written but not published till after the execution of Charles. There were other cries for mercy amongst the people: "they plead for him, pity him, extol him, protest against those that talk of bringing him to the trial of justice, which is the sword of God,

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superior to all mortal things, in whose hands soever by apparent signs His testified will is to put it." . . . "As for mercy if it be to a tyrant, under which name they themselves have cited him so oft in the hearing of God, of angels and the Holy Church assembled, and there charged him with the spilling of more innocent blood by far than ever Nero did, undoubtedly the mercy which they pretend is the mercy of wicked men, and their mercies we read are cruelties; hazarding the welfare of a whole nation to have saved one whom so oft they have termed Agag." The treatise was on the tenure of Kings and magistrates, written by John Milton, and first published in the February which followed the execution of Charles I.

On December 4 there was a great debate in the House of Commons: were terms of compromise possible with the King? At five o'clock in the early morning of the next day one hundred and twenty-nine members voted yea, eighty-three no. In Palace Yard were stationed Colonel Rich's horse, in Westminster Hall Colonel Pride's foot, Pride furnished with the names of the majority handed him by Lord Grey: "A lord dear to the House of Commons." Forty-one members when they emerged were escorted to the Queen's Court, to afterwards spend the night with Mr. Duke at his tavern called Hill's Tavern. For a week the purge continued; some members stopped away, others who refused were lodged in the Tower for safety, London looked on helpless; soon it witnessed another sight, the execution of Charles, who was tried at the High Court of Justice set up specially for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, King of England. There was one more scene at Whitehall on January 30, 1649, when Charles met his death with Christian fortitude.

From the traditional stories handed down one may be selected. Lord Southampton and his friend obtained permission to sit by the body of Charles in the banqueting hall at Whitehall: "As they were sitting very melancholy there about two o'clock in the morning they heard the tread of somebody coming very slowly upstairs; by-and-by the door opened and a man entered very much muffled up in his cloak and his face quite hid in it; he approached the body, considered it very attentively some time and then shook his

head, sighed out the words, 'Cruel necessity,' he then departed in the same slow and concealed manner as he had come. Lord Southampton used to say that he could not distinguish anything of his face, but that by his voice and gait he took him to be Oliver Cromwell."

The execution of Charles was execrated by Europe. The Tsar took measures against English trade; the Dutch disliked it, and Montrose, who was abroad, learning the news, fainted and immediately planned descent on Scotland. Scotland prepared for arms, and the Royalists abroad chartered privateers to prey on the commerce of the new Commonwealth. Parliament forbade correspondence with Virginia, Barbadoes and the Bermudas, and merchant vessels, as well as warships, were authorized to seize not only privateers chartered by Royalists but foreign ships carrying disaffected Royalists across the sea. Dr. Dorislaus, British ambassador in Holland, who had taken part in framing the charge of high treason against Charles, a few years after was set upon at the White Swan Inn at the Hague when entertaining friends at supper. Six masked men kept the door closed, six who entered blew out the lights and stabbed him to death, crying, "Thus dies one of the King's judges."

With the death of Charles I the Royal Commonwealth ended for a time, and the term "Empire" came into great favour.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PURITAN COMMONWEALTH (1649—1660)

IN February, 1649, we may look into the old English house of State and examine the woven tapestries on its walls which illustrate the constitutional changes which have taken place. A republic has been established; an executive created of forty-one persons nominated by Parliament, and a declaratory ordinance published that "the people of England and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging are and shall be and are constituted, made, and established, and confirmed to be a Commonwealth or free State, and shall from henceforth be governed as a Commonwealth and free State by the Supreme Authority of the nation, the representatives of the people in Parliament, and by such as they shall appoint and constitute officers, and ministers under them for the good of the people and that without any king or House of Lords." The Council declared that it will correspond with all nations in Latin, and now John Milton is "courted into its service and at last prevailed with (for he never hunted after preferment nor affected the tintamar and hurry of public business) to take upon him the office of Latin Secretary to the Council of State." The Republic formed was not the result of an upheaval of the masses ground down by the miseries of the social system; no complaint was raised by workmen or labourers demanding better conditions of life, wages or any of the demands so familiar in modern life. Notwithstanding the Civil War and the dislocation of industry, the country was prosperous and able to bear the burden of heavy taxation. It was the result of political and religious influences, the people desiring to control national policy in accordance with their trade and traditions, and of a powerful faction seizing the reins of power. They had no desire to alter colonial policy; they approved and continued it. In 1651 you might have ridden to the West Country, and in one of those spacious inns

so familiar to travellers of this time smoked a pipe of tobacco grown from English plants. On your return to London you would be told that English tobacco was inferior to that of Virginia, and that tobacco should be left to the children of the mother country across seas to grow in exchange for English goods. The Council considered the distant parts of the Empire must be looked to as well as the centre. So the growth of English tobacco was prohibited, to the disgust of the growers. Charles I, the Long Parliament and the Parliament of Charles II, after many struggles, finally suppressed this industry.

For years English interests had clashed with those of Holland; although commercial jealousies existed there was no open quarrel, but angry feelings had arisen when the Dutch massacred English settlers at Amboyna; so intense was the feeling that Charles I at one time contemplated an alliance with Spain against Holland. Nothing really material had happened to shake the Puritans in their belief that two Protestant Powers, old and friendly neighbours, would never quarrel. A quarrel, however, did arise, chiefly but not wholly over the carrying trade. Holland, owing to her natural position, reaped enormous benefits as the waggoner of Europe. By reason of her easy access to the Baltic she was able to supply herself with cheap materials for building ships, such as timber, hemp, pitch and tar. The rest of Europe was not so favoured, except Sweden, who had free access to the Baltic. Holland, moreover, had preferential treatment from Denmark. When the Civil War ended, exiled Royalists continued the conflict at sea, some fitting out privateers which, sailing from Dutch ports, preyed upon the shipping of the Commonwealth, others crossed the seas with arms and ammunition in Dutch vessels to Barbadoes, Antigua and Virginia. English vessels were ordered to stop Dutch ships which they believed to be carrying contraband. A considerable trade had grown up between England and her plantations; the Dutch quoted lower freights than the English shippers, with the result that the carrying trade was passing to the Dutch, whilst English shipping was rotting in harbour and English sailors seeking employment in the Dutch service. To remedy evils as much political as commercial, the Commonwealth Parliament passed a Naviga-

tion Act, which provided that British and colonial goods and produce should be carried in British and colonial ships. There were other important provisions which were substantially re-enacted in the Navigation Act of Charles II; another matter seriously affecting the Dutch was the prohibition directed against their trading with the Royalist plantations during the war. When the Dutch remonstrated about the Navigation Act, Cromwell replied that their vessels had fished in British waters without paying their dues, that they had seized the Spice Islands, and that English trade interests in Russia and Greenland had been seriously interfered with; moreover, the British ambassador, Dr. Dorislaus, had been murdered at the Hague. For these and other matters, including pecuniary satisfaction for the survivors and relatives of the people killed at Amboyna, he requested compensation.

War with Holland followed. Leaving its story untold, we may now observe the restless waves of thought and action in the new Commonwealth which foamed and broke amongst the swirling stones and broken debris of the ancient system, casting up many curious things from the depths of religious thought. A Commonwealth governed by a Council chosen from the old Parliament was not John Lilburne's and the Levellers' conception of what a Commonwealth should be. They desired a free democratic republic without military domination, and the new wine of liberty decanted from a fresh Parliamentary bottle. Puritan ideals were simplicity of life and purity of thought, pleasurable contemplations were even fraught with danger. Stephen Gosson, actor and dramatist, who deserted the stage and play-writing for the pulpit, wrote: "Poets, painters, players and sculptors were caterpillars of the Commonwealth." He saw a declension, a rake's progress, "from pyping to playing, from playing to pleasure, from pleasure to sloth, from sloth to sleep, from sleep to sin, from sin to death, from death to the devil." The Commonwealth soldier looked grimly at the country fairs, merry-makings, Maypoles, even happiness in the countenances of men and women, life was so earnest, work its gospel. Paintings, stained windows and ornaments in cathedrals and churches were meretricious symbols of idolatry. Axe in

hand he pulled down and defaced the figures of saints and holy men carved by monkish artists, hammered, hackled, spoiled and stole ecclesiastical ornaments in his search for silver chalices, cups, plate, crosses and crucifixes to melt down for the Commonwealth treasury. Images of saints were graven images. Was it not written "Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image"? When the Spanish soldiery, misled by guides, took the wrong road in Hispaniola, when Penn and Venables attacked its chief city, they pelted the statues of the Virgin Mary with oranges.

Amidst these many sects only one was prepared to concede some measure of freedom of conscience to others. This was the independent Anabaptist, or Baptist sect, but the freedom they conceded was only within the narrow limits of Puritanism. Cromwell, who was an Independent, saw no reason why a man's religion should interfere with his occupation in life. He wrote accordingly to a Presbyterian officer who had objected to the promotion of an Anabaptist on the ground of his creed: "Admit he be; shall that render him incapable to serve the public, if he be willing to serve it that satisfies; take heed of being sharp or too easily sharpened by others against those to whom you can object little but that they square not with you in every opinion covering matters of religion." Intense religious emotion displayed itself in crowds, who danced, shook and ranted when moved by spiritual addresses, till men and women, mentally and physically fatigued, often fainted from exhaustion. The Sects of Ranters and Shakers were precursors of the Quakers, a sect George Fox founded. Wandering about the countryside seeking religious sympathy amongst the clergy, but finding little satisfaction anywhere except among the poor, Fox did not seek religion in the Steeple House but in field and orchard, inspiration from the Bible in the sight of God's natural works. He was a mystic before becoming a religious reformer, and argued what trifles divided men into warring sects! Simplicity was the key of life; "yea," "verily" and "nay" needed no additions, an oath did not increase the force of an argument, it was no compliment to truth. Compliment was flattery, and he refused to doff his hat or uncover his head before rank, a bold demand for social equality. He was

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imprisoned in 1649 for brawling, when leader of the new sect called the Children of the Light, and when charged before the magistrates of Derby, he answered: "Tremble at the name of the Lord," Gervas Becket, a magistrate, retorting, "Quakers, then," the jesting name was accepted in earnest. The Children of the Light became known as Quakers. Thousands joined their ranks and meeting-houses, for the members sprang up everywhere. Amongst the earliest converts was Elizabeth Horton, the first woman preacher. The title Friends of the Truth or Truth's Friends was changed, the prefix truth dropped; the Quakers became Friends, their body the Society of Friends. By Fox's side another woman ministered, Margaret Fell, the pious widow of the judge of the Duchy of Swarthmore Hall, Lancashire, who, eleven years a widow, and ten years his senior, became his friend and wife. Strangest of religious teachers was James Naylor, whose preaching, said an officer who was present at the Battle of Dunbar, inspired him with more terror than the battle itself. Bearing a strange resemblance to the portrait of Christ, the Quaker women followed him. In Exeter prison three kneeled humbly before him, "Dorcas," he cried to one, "Dorcas, arise." In the language of scriptural allegory he had raised her from the dead and revived her spirits. In 1656, when he rode into Bristol on an ass, men and women stood in the ways and strewed his path with their garments, singing, "Hosanna to the Lord." His case was considered by the House of Commons, and he was severely punished for horrid blasphemy. His defence was he did not mean he was Christ but that Christ was within him.

Another sect, the Fifth Monarchy Men, believed in the quick coming of a Christian Commonwealth. Four monarchies had passed away, Assyrian, Persian, Greek and Roman. That of Christ was at hand, "The carnal divisions and contentions among Christians so common are not symptoms of that kingdom," said Cromwell, "but for men on this principle to betitle themselves that they are the only men to rule kingdoms, govern nations and give laws to people and determine of property and liberty and everything else upon such a pretension as this is, truly they had need to give clear

manifestation of God's presence with them before wise men will receive or submit to their conclusions."

During the Protectorate laws were dedicated to the High Pleasure of Almighty God and the weal public of the realm. Did a true republic or free Commonwealth exist? Sir John Harington denied it. The people "never had a Commonwealth, only anarchy, tyranny and oligarchy; the nation was like a company of puppy dogs in a bag, where, finding themselves uneasy for want of room, everyone of 'em bites the tail or foot of the next supposing that to be the cause of his misery." Harington wrote *Oceana*. *Oceana* was England; its capital, Emporium, London. He described all sorts of governments. As the book was obnoxious to Cromwell he seized it, though on his daughter's (Lady Claypole) intercession he returned it. Harington called upon her and told her he had come out of revenge to steal her little child because her father had stolen his literary child. Cromwell remarked the gentleman would have "liked to trepan him out of his power, but what he got by the sword he would not quit for a little paper shot." He told Harington "he approved of the government of a single person as little as any of them, but that he was forced to take upon him the office of a high constable to preserve the several parties in the nation, since he saw that being left to themselves they would never agree to any certain form of government, and would only spend their full power in defeating the design or destroying the persons of one another." On another occasion he said, "I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep rather than have undertaken such a government as this is."

We may now follow the historical march of events which made Cromwell dictator of England. As the year 1649 grew older the Commonwealth was accounted naught in Ireland, only two towns supporting it, Dublin, recently besieged, and Derry. Cromwell, chosen as Lord Lieutenant, crossed to Ireland to reconquer it. In a fierce campaign Drogheda and Wexford fell; other towns followed; Ireland was once more subjugated. The war was conducted with much savagery on both sides; years afterwards Irishmen spoke of the curse of Cromwell, for there was no toleration accorded by him to the

Roman Catholics. Before New Ross he was asked whether he would grant liberty of conscience: "I meddle not," he replied, "with any man's conscience, but if by liberty of conscience you mean liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing and to let you know that where the Parliament of England have power that will not be allowed." In May, 1650, Cromwell returned to England and entered London amidst the roar of cannon and effusive greetings from the army leaders and members of Parliament. A new situation had now arisen in Scotland, where Royalists and Presbyterians had united for King and Covenant. In August and September that year the armies of Cromwell and Leslie manœuvred for position. When the sun rose over the sea on September 3 it shone upon the battle of Dunbar, with Leslie moving down Doon Hill; "Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered," cried Cromwell. By nightfall Leslie's defeated army was melting away.

On New Year's day, 1651, Charles II was crowned at Scone; all the spring Cromwell was lying ill at Edinburgh whilst Scotland was busily marshalling her forces. By July he was well and in the field, exercising that skilful strategy which, by cutting the connections of the Scottish arm at Stirling, compelled it to advance into England in the hope of obtaining help from the English Royalists. Marching southward by Warrington, Charles II summoned town after town to surrender, unavailingly. His army at last reaching Worcester 16,000 strong, he found himself opposed by an army of 31,000. The morning of September 3 witnessed the Royal standard floating over Worcester; by night Charles II was a wanderer. Cromwell wrote: "The dimensions of this mercy are above my thought, it is for aught I know a crowning mercy." The day before, Lieutenant-General Monk had stormed Dundee. The second Civil War was over.

The House of Commons refusing to dissolve of itself there was no legal power to decree dissolution but itself. Why should it dissolve, argued Harry Marten, a member of Parliament, whose speeches were not long but wondrous poignant, pertinent and witty. The infant Commonwealth is like the babe Moses, best brought up by the parent who

had given it birth. In January, 1653, the Army was asked to approve of a petition for successive Parliaments to consist of men who would be faithful to the interests of the Commonwealth, men of truth, fearing God and hating covetousness. It was evident that the Long Parliament was fast approaching its end; a Bill for a new election, however, was superseded by another for a partial election, by which old members were to keep their seats with power to exclude new members of whom they disapproved. As the House had determined upon carrying this, Cromwell, dressed in plain black clothes and grey worsted stockings, hurried to the House as Speaker Lenthall was putting the question that this Bill do pass. A dramatic scene followed. Cromwell spoke to Harrison, who had held the Chief Military Command in Cromwell's absence, "This is the time I must do it." He rose and denounced the misconduct of Parliament, Presbyterians and lawyers, corrupted interests both. "You think this is not Parliamentary language," he said, "I confess it is not, neither are you to expect any such from me." Sir Peter Wentworth rose to order, "It is strange language this; unusual within the walls of Parliament and from a trusted servant too." "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating," cried Cromwell. "You are no Parliament, some of you are drunkards, some of you are living in open contempt of God's commandments, following your own greedy appetites and the devil's commandments, corrupt, unjust persons, scandalous to the profession of the gospel, you are no Parliament, I will put an end to your sitting." Turning to Harrison, he bade him call them in. Between thirty and forty musketeers thereupon filed into the chamber. Harrison handed Speaker Lenthall from the chair: "You might have prevented this," said Cromwell to Sir Henry Vane in answer to his protest, "that it was not honest, yea, it was against morality and common honesty." "Oh, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane, the Lord deliver me from thee, Sir Henry Vane," the mace was next removed, members excluded from the chamber, the door locked and the key removed. The Council of State was dissolved, and the reign of the Long Parliament for a time ended. "Sir," said Bradshaw to Cromwell, "you are mistaken to think that the

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Parliament is dissolved, for no power on earth can dissolve it but themselves, therefore take you notice of that."

The Long Parliament was succeeded by a nominated Parliament called the "Little," but which wits preferred to call "Barebone's," after a member, a leather merchant, whose name was "Praise God Barebone." Candidates were nominated by the congregational churches, winnowed out by officers before they were recommended. The summons was issued in the name of Oliver Cromwell, who required the person nominated to be and appear at the Council Chamber at Whitehall to take up his trust as member for the County of ———. To this Parliament or Convention Cromwell submitted his new instrument of Government, provisionally resigning his power, but informing Parliament that its powers would only continue till November 3, 1654. A new Council of State of thirty-one members was formed, to which Cromwell was elected by one hundred and thirteen votes, corresponding to the number of members present at the time of voting. Parliament, as it called itself, discussed the total abolition of the Court of Chancery, the abolition of titles and a codification of the law. On December 12 Lambert, who had been Deputy Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, planned its demise and the resignation of its powers to Cromwell. The members, with the Speaker at their head, walked in procession from Westminster to Whitehall and informed Cromwell of their decision to dissolve. An instrument of Government was next devised by the Army Council; by it the Commonwealth was to be governed by a Lord Protector and a Council of eight civilians and seven officers. Soon afterwards, in the old Chancery Court in Westminster Hall, a ceremony of State took place, when His Highness Cromwell appeared dressed in black velvet and cloaked in the same material, with a band of gold around his hat, and took upon himself his new office of Lord Protector in presence of the judges and the Lord Mayor. The whole executive power of the Commonwealth was now vested in him, and Parliament was to meet once only in three years, and then to sit for five months. The military grip tightened its hold over the civil power, and in a short time emerged in the naked form of autocracy. In 1655 Desborough, brother-in-law of Cromwell, was appointed major-

general of the South-western Counties; by autumn all England was mapped into districts governed by major-generals. A special income tax was levied on Royalists, the death penalty fixed for adultery, and severe penalties prescribed for drunkenness, blasphemy, play-acting and the profanation of the Sabbath. In the churches only orthodox doctrine might be taught, and what orthodoxy meant was determined by the decisions of the major-generals. Before long there was only one man holding high office in the Commonwealth who was unconnected with Cromwell by family ties, General Monk, Governor of Scotland.

When Prince Rupert was roving the seas with little regard to the ships he seized, three vessels, the *Dromedaris*, the *Reiger* and the yacht *Goede Hoop*, dropped down the Texel and on December 24, 1651, were awaiting an easterly breeze to put to sea in company with a great fleet of merchant vessels. The three were destined for Table Bay. Nearly two and a half years before, Janssen and Prost had presented the Amsterdam Chamber of the United Netherlands East India Company with a document urging the necessity for establishing a victualling station at the Cape for the East India fleet. Janssen and Prost were on board the *Haarlem*, which had been wrecked at Table Bay when she had put in for water, and had spent five or six months there and knew the conditions. Their reports led to the first settlement of the Dutch at the Cape.

On April 5, 1652, about the fifth (half-hour) glass of the afternoon watch, the mate of the *Dromedaris* sighted Table Mountain, and on Sunday, April 7, Van Riebeeck, the chief in command, gazed on his future home. A site was chosen and a fort erected. The settlement was distinctly Puritan, but no man was allowed to worship God publicly in any other manner than the Government approved of. It was founded for a place for ships on their long passage from Batavia to Holland, England using St. Helena.

In 1654 Cromwell dispatched two fleets, one commanded by Admiral Blake, the other by Admiral Penn; the former admiral to suppress piracy in the Mediterranean, the latter to punish the Spanish for their seizure and confiscation of English ships and merchandise and the imprisonment of their

merchants. Admiral Blake bombarded Tunis and released many English captives; he also captured a treasure ship, the silver from which was exhibited in the streets of London. The justice of this war with Spain was questioned.

Admiral Penn and General Venables sailed to attack Hispaniola, but their enterprise proved unsuccessful; on his way back Admiral Penn captured Jamaica. Admiral Blake was one of the greatest of the British admirals; he was incomparable upon the high seas, in chasing Prince Rupert up the Tagus, in his battles with Van Tromp, in the Straits of Dover and in his attack on the Spanish fleet, when it was lying protected by the land batteries at Santa Cruz off Teneriffe. The British sailors were soldiers on land and sailors on the sea.

The idealism of Cromwell is seen in the assistance that he was able to give to the oppressed Protestants of the Vaudois; and his regard for British interests in the opening up of the Baltic for English merchants. "If they could shut us out of the Baltic and make themselves masters of that, where is your trade, where are your materials to preserve your shipping?" Cromwell had the greatest regard for British interests; "he made England great by land and sea, and it would be well," says Gardiner, "for men to be reminded of his no less constant efforts to make England worthy of her greatness." After some years' experience of Charles II, Pepys made an entry in his diary: "It is strange how everybody do nowadays reflect upon Oliver and commend him, what brave things he did that made all the neighbour princes fear him." The name of England was now respected abroad as it never had been since the days of Elizabeth.

In 1656 a Parliament was called, which was a creature of Cromwell's; its members not approving of the appointment of major-generals, requested Cromwell to take upon himself the Government and assume the Crown on March 25, 1657. A month before, however, Lambert and other officers had told him that he should refuse the offer; he had therefore to choose between the acceptance of the title of King or a breach with the Republican Army. He answered the petition of the Commons by telling them that there was no necessity for the name of King, the other name would do as well,

but he accepted a new constitution which enabled him to appoint a successor, and made him almost independent of Parliament. He had power to nominate the members of a second chamber. Again he was invested with the office of Lord Protector, which he this time assumed robed in purple and ermine, holding in his hand a golden sceptre. The Upper Chamber was his House of Lords; there was now considerable grumbling at the limitation of the power of the House of Commons; insurrections threatened; there were alarms of a Royalist invasion. Parliament was dissolved. The position of Cromwell was far from being comfortable. "Killing no murder," wrote Sexby, "£500 a year and a knighthood for the man who kills a certain base mechanic fellow called Oliver Cromwell who has tyrannously usurped the supreme power," was the wording of a proclamation that was posted.

On September 2, 1658, a great storm arose; the next day Cromwell died. On his death, his son Richard was proclaimed Lord Protector and a Parliament summoned; but men were now talking of the good old cause; the end of the Commonwealth was near. In the early summer Richard Cromwell left England for Paris, where he lived under the assumed name of John Clarke. Thirty years afterwards, still bearing that name, he declared, "I have been alone for thirty years, banished under silence, and my strength and safety is to be retired, quiet and silent." Oliver Cromwell declined to make his Government hereditary; he said, "Who knoweth whether he may beget a fool or a wise man." General Monk, who brought back Charles II, declared that Richard had forsaken him or else he would have never failed in his promise to his father or regard for his memory.

CHAPTER XIV

CHARLES II (1660—1685)

WHEN the bells of London rang out merry peals of welcome on the return of Charles II to England, never were people so happy as the English; like the Children of Israel, tired of judges, they wanted a king, thereby showing a political instinct in favour of monarchy from which they have never since wavered. The new Government was not a constitutional monarchy but on its way to become so. There had been only one solution left after the death of Cromwell, the restoration of Charles II. The Commonwealth had become identified with a particularly rigid form of morals contrary to the genius of the race; so the term fell into disuse, but continued to survive in America in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Subsequently it was adopted by the framers of the American Constitution. The people of Australia have also named Australia a Commonwealth, perhaps remembering the Elizabethan Commonwealth and the ideals which are conveyed by the word.

Charles II through all his reign was popular. We cannot walk through St. James's Park without picturing this careless monarch, tall, of swart complexion, with his spaniels following at his heels; sometimes stopping by the lakes to feed the ducks, duck island then having a governor, St. Evremond, who received a salary for his care of the smallest government in the world. Sometimes Charles would stroll down Birdcage Walk, hard by which was the Royal Aviary. From the boughs of the trees hung the birdcages, and through the leafy fastnesses poured forth the music of their feathered inmates. Charles loved pleasure far more than business, and his indolence often led him to yield to importunity and grant requests which otherwise his good sense would have refused. Life passed pleasantly enough in the Court of the Merry Monarch amongst witty courtiers, maids

of honour and beauties, many of whose portraits hang in the gallery of Hampton Court Palace, immortalized by the brush of Sir Peter Lely. With the aid of the Count de Grammont we may reconstruct the scenes in which they moved.

Charles was no example to his people, his morality and that of his Court was low; pleasure and intrigue were main objects of life. "The night the Dutch burned our ships the King did sup with my Lady Castlemaine at the Duchess of Monmouth's, and they were all mad in hunting a moth." French fashion and tastes crossed the Channel, the theatre once more became popular, not with the powerful tragedies of Elizabethan times, but with comedies borrowed from Parisian models—gay but licentious stories of provoked husbands, profligate lovers and country girls, where the coarseness of ideas was relieved by the brilliance of the wit and epigram. Charles II, his mistresses, their jealousies and quarrels supply many stories of the reign.

The first election for a Parliament took place in 1661, when a body was chosen—sometimes termed the Pension Parliament—more loyal than the greatest Loyalist could have anticipated. Everything was done to please the King and propitiate the Church; the bishops were restored to the House of Lords; every member of Parliament constrained to take the sacrament; every officer of a corporation sworn by an oath to acknowledge all resistance to the King's authority unlawful. Ordination was made an indispensable qualification for Church preferment; a series of Acts was passed directed against nonconformity, and it was made a crime to attend a dissenting place of worship. Two thousand and more Nonconformists, deprived of their benefices, were forbidden to enter any town where they had once resided and ministered. By the whirligig of fortune the persecutors became the persecuted, and the acts of the Puritans recoiled upon themselves.

Non-resistance to Royal orders, however arbitrary, was openly promulgated from pulpit and library. The Englishman who a few years before had boasted of his independence of authority prostrated himself before its image. The lessons learned drove the nation from one extreme to the other.

The Cavaliers resumed possession of their forfeited

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estates, and Cromwell's great armies were quickly re-absorbed in the peaceful occupations of civil life.

With prorogations the first Parliament lasted eighteen years, but gradually its disposition changed. The tide of loyalty ebbed. A tide of discontent commenced to flow; Parliament then asserted its right to criticize and determine national policy with no uncertain voice. Clarendon, Charles II's first minister, who had been created Earl and Lord Chancellor, was obliged to fly the country to escape impeachment; alleged maladministration in the public services brought about his fall. When Charles wanted money, Dunkirk was sold to the French; the Navy was neglected, and Dutch ships had sailed up the Medway. A war with Holland had also proved inconclusive, and Clarendon was blamed. For fourteen years he had lived abroad in exile directing the King's affairs. He was now old-fashioned according to Restoration ideas; Charles objected to his lectures; he was unpopular with Parliament; without Royal or Parliamentary support his fall was inevitable. During his administration the Navigation Act was passed. This Act, amended from time to time, formed the basis of the trade policy known as the mercantile system, and did much to build up the Empire. A trade policy, as history abundantly shows, is a matter of expediency arrived at by a consideration of many factors. To an island adequate shipping is essential, for without ships islanders cannot trade unless they choose to be dependent upon another nation for carriage. Even with a mercantile marine an ability to trade is limited by an ability to protect shipping.

With the growth of the American plantations the great Empire began. It was plain that England must rely upon herself and her colonies to provide means of communication to bridge the seas. They could not entrust this business to another nation any more than they could now allow a foreign power to control their railway systems. Trade policy then required two things: (1) a council of trade to regulate intercourse between the mother country and the colonies; and (2) provision of ships and sailors. Both a council and a Navigation Act had been adopted by Cromwell; the Navigation Act of Charles II enacted that no goods or commodities should be imported into or exported from any of the King's

dominions except in English, Irish or Plantation-built ships, and the masters and three-fourths of the crew were required to be Englishmen. None but natural born or naturalized subjects were allowed to act as merchants or factors in any of the King's dominions. The naturalized subject was, however, the Englishman born outside the King's dominions and not an alien. No goods of the growth, product or manufacture of Asia, Africa or America might be imported except in English ships; but the commodities of Europe might enter English or Irish ports when they were brought in ships of the country of their growth, production and manufacture.

The coasting trade was entirely reserved for English ships.

Russian commodities could not be imported, nor masts, timber, foreign salt, pitch, tar, resin, hemp, flax, raisins, figs, prunes, olive oil, corn, sugar, potash and wines; nor the currants or goods of the Turkish dominions except they were brought in English vessels, since neither Russia nor Turkey possessed ships. Provision was thus made to secure a share of their carrying trade. Exception was made in the case of any real exporting country which might introduce its own commodities if the master and three-fourths of the crew of the ship were natives of the exporting country and the vessels were built there, or the goods were shipped from some port where the goods could only be or most usually had been first shipped for transportation. Special provisions affected colonial trade. Colonial commodities were divided into two classes, enumerated and unenumerated. Those enumerated in the Act of Parliament could only be shipped to England or Ireland or to some English plantation, there to be landed. Originally these were sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, fustic or other dyeing woods of the plantations. But by further Acts of Charles II, for the Encouragement of Trade and preventing the planting of tobacco in England and regulating the plantation trade, these enumerated commodities were not allowed to be landed in Ireland till they had first been brought into England. The list of enumerated commodities was extended by the Acts 3 and 4 Anne, when rice and molasses were added. By Act 3 Geo. II rice was removed from the list, and by Act 8 Geo. III beaver

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and peltry of America. By Act 2 of Geo. II pitch, tar, turpentine, masts, yards and bowsprits, and by Act 8 of Geo. I c.18 copper ore were added. All English dominions in the Eastern and Western hemispheres were styled plantations, except Tangier and Newfoundland. Newfoundland was excepted because it was regarded as a floating dock for the benefit of the fisheries and a nursery for fishermen. These Acts undoubtedly struck at the Dutch carrying trade, the English reserving to themselves their own colonial trade and sharing some of the trade of Sweden which before had belonged solely to the Dutch. The Navigation Act, however, was only part of the mercantile system. Instigated by two merchants, Martin Noell and Thomas Povey, who had had financial and commercial interests in America, Cromwell had founded a council of trade; the original proposal was for a council of colonial control to weld the isolated American Governments into one, to be managed by a central board in England. Portions only of their plan were adopted by Charles II. Instead of one central body he appointed two committees of Privy Councillors and merchants, one for dealing with trade generally, the other for the plantations. This dual control continued until 1672, when these two committees were merged in one, but in 1675 the entire control of trade and the plantations was transferred to one committee of the Privy Council. Its members were called Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, or Lords of Trade.

In the reign of Charles II Parliament objected to the King vetoing Bills contrary to national interests. No voice could be raised by the plantations against any Acts of the Crown which disallowed or vetoed the Acts or Bills of their assemblies. At first this was of little importance, but with the growth of the plantations it became of the greatest. There was no colonial representation to harmonize Imperial trade policy.

The second Ministry of Charles consisted of five Ministers of the Privy Council—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley and Laudersdale—the initial letters of whose names spelt the word Cabal; this Ministry executed the King's but not the national policy. The secret Treaty of Dover was now made by which Charles II, secretly a Roman

Catholic, sold himself to Louis XIV for a pension, promising in due time to declare himself openly a Roman Catholic.

In 1672 Louis, with the assistance of England, attacked Holland in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Dover. Before war began Charles II, in pursuance of his decision to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in England, published a Declaration of Indulgence, abrogating or dispensing with the penal laws against Roman Catholics, but to mislead as to his real intention he dispensed with all penal laws against nonconformity. When the House of Commons met in 1673, after a prorogation which had lasted nearly two years, both domestic and foreign policy were attacked, and disunion at once showed itself in the Cabal, with the Commons insisting on the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence and on making peace with Holland. The Cabal fell, and Thomas Osborn, a Yorkshire baronet, was made chief Minister and created Earl of Danby. Parliamentary Government was now on the road to establishment, but leaders like Danby were still unable to control foreign policy, the King pulling one way, the Minister the other. The Treaty of Nimeguen in 1678 suddenly ended the war between France and Holland.

To understand the swift change in policy from war with Holland to the long succession of wars with France, we must consider her position at this time.

France was advancing to the front rank of the military powers of Europe. The Civil Wars of the Fronde dividing her during the minority of Louis XIV were over. In 1661 when Louis assumed control of affairs it was realized that he was about to follow in the footsteps of Charles V and Philip II of Spain. In 1667, when the Dutch war was ended, the Treaty of Breda was signed on soil no longer belonging to Spain; England and Holland had proved her conquering adversaries. In 1648 Holland's right to her colonies was recognized by Spain; in 1670 England's rights in America. Spain, however, still possessed Flanders and a portion of what is now known as north-eastern France. At Breda, where France and Holland made peace with England, France had exchanged Antigua and the Islands of Montserrat and St. Kitts for Acadia, part of Nova Scotia. At the begin-

ning of the reign of Louis XIV, under the ministry of Colbert, French industry, shipping and commerce grew. Roads and canals were constructed linking the provinces of France together; ports were improved, a mercantile marine built, and a strong navy created. Two great trading corporations for the West and East Indies and a Council of Commerce were established. A million of livres was applied to the improvement of the woollen manufacture; foreign artists, artificers and workers were invited with all sorts of rewards to settle in France; and Canada, Martinique and San Domingo supplied with capable governors. The steps which France took under Colbert enabled her to sustain the long and exhausting wars which did not finally terminate till 1815.

By 1667 French trade competed with English, particularly in woollen goods in Turkey, Spain and Portugal. By high prohibitive tariffs English merchandise was excluded from France. In 1664 the foundations of an Eastern Empire were laid, the French East India Company possessing a jurisdiction from the Cape of Good Hope to the furthest Indies, and from the Straits of Magellan westward into all the South Seas. A Western Empire was contemplated, the West India Company's sphere of operations including not only Canada but all territory down to and behind Virginia in America, and the coast of Africa from Cape Verde southwards to the Cape of Good Hope. Colbert also established a New Guinea Company, which was able to secure the contract with Spain for carrying negro slaves from the African coast to Spanish America.

By the Treaty of Breda the Dutch abandoned all claims to the New Netherlands, leaving the English plantations compact on the Atlantic seaboard, and England in return surrendered Surinam in Guiana. She relaxed the stringency of her Navigation Act by agreeing to treat all Continental goods brought down the Rhine to Dort as the goods or produce of Holland, rendering them exportable to England in Dutch ships.

Portugal by now was a suppliant for protection rather than a candidate for empire, and found her advantage in an English alliance. Princess Catherine of Braganza brought Tangier to Charles II as her marriage portion, a door of the

Mediterranean and Bombay, one of the few trading stations in the East still left her. In addition, a large dowry was given, and a commercial treaty further cemented the friendship of the two nations.

During the long reign of Louis XIV France continued to expand in Europe and America. The year the Treaty of Breda was signed Louis laid claim to a portion of the Spanish Netherlands and seized Charleroi, Douai, Lille and Courtrai; his further progress was stayed by the formation of a Triple Alliance between England, Holland and Sweden. In 1668 he was obliged to restore Franche-Comté. Soon after he conceived the idea of destroying Holland; it was necessary to break up the Triple Alliance and secure, if not the support of England at least her neutrality. He succeeded in detaching England by making with her a commercial treaty that prepossessed the mercantile interests in his favour. Next by the Treaties of Dover he secured the support of Charles.

During the French invasion of Holland the two brothers Jan and Cornelius Witt fell victims to the fury of a Dutch mob, and William of Orange was summoned to the leadership of affairs. After two years' warfare Charles II's Parliament insisted on discontinuing the war against Holland, and England became neutral; Holland was obliged to turn to an alliance with Spain and Denmark. Faced with new adversaries and the opening of the dykes by the indomitable Hollanders, Louis directed his armies against Spain. Victory crowned his arms; Ghent, Ypres and St. Omer fell. Battling by the side of her old enemy Spain, Holland was unable to make a further bid for colonial empire. The war ended in 1678 with the treaty signed at Nimeguen, when Holland surrendered to France Senegal and Cayenne, and Spain the whole of Franche-Comté with Valenciennes, Condé, Cambrai, Ypres, Warnerton, Poperinghe, Bailleul, and other towns. In 1681 Louis seized Strasburg, and three years later he was at the height of his power.

During the reigns of Charles II, James II, William and Mary and Anne, Louis XIV continued to dominate Europe; few monarchs have ever wielded such autocratic powers as he did. He took for his emblem the sun, but it was a sun

which shone on four long wars, replete in stories of heroism and devotion, black with tales of carnage and misery. A long procession of famous French generals crossed the plains of Flanders: Marshal Turenne, Condé, Vendôme, and others; but greater were the leaders of thought and science who walked the streets of Paris making the age the golden one of France. Versailles had now developed into a splendid palace with magnificent buildings, galleries, courts, parks and ornamental gardens.

In Canada France continued to expand; De La Salle, a Norman gentleman, who had established himself at Montreal, learning that Le Père Marquette was seeking to discover the mouth of the Mississippi, determined to undertake the enterprise himself. Obtaining support from the Ministry of Marine and a great concession of land near Lake Ontario, he subsequently visited Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron and Michigan in 1678, and erected forts, made treaties with the Indians and organized trade in furs. Taking possession of Arkansas, he penetrated into the valleys of Illinois, descended the Mississippi and reached the Gulf of Mexico; he there founded a new colony he called Louisiana after his king. Assistance was sent him, but accidentally the mouth of the Mississippi was passed by Beaujeu, who commanded the expedition. He disembarked his colonists at the Bay of St. Bernard, where a fort was erected and the town of Mobile founded.

On reference to the map we may see France now stretching out one arm from Quebec to join the other at Louisiana so as to confine the English plantations to the Eastern seaboard.

Two currents of sentiment were now observable in England, fear of France and dislike of Roman Catholicism; the latter was illustrated by a disclosure of a pretended Popish plot. The infamous Titus Oates fabricated a story of plans which had been laid to burn down the City of London and of Jesuit conspiracies. Swept by a sudden gust of fury the nation was in a mood to credit anything; the Duke of York, who was presumptive heir to the throne, had openly declared himself a Roman Catholic. Should he be allowed to succeed to the throne? Amidst general excitement Charles II dissolved his first Parliament. On the new Parliament meeting,

the House of Commons insisted on a Bill excluding the Duke and his children from the throne; a crisis impended which might have brought about a civil war had not Halifax ultimately persuaded the House of Lords to reject the Bill.

In 1679 there was a Court Party and a Country Party, the former being "Abhorrers" (i.e. Abhorrers of interference with the Royal Prerogative), and the latter "Addressors." The terms Whig and Tory now came into use. The origin of each word is interesting: "The Bill of Exclusion led to a common use of slighting and opprobrious words such as Yorkist, that didn't seem to scandalize or reflect enough; then they came to tantivy which implied riding post to Rome; then observing that the Duke favoured Irishmen, all his friends, or those accounted such by appearing against the Exclusion, were strait become Irish, and so wild Irish; thence bog-trotters, and in the Copia of the factious language the word Tory was entertained, which signified the most despicable savages amongst the Irish." The term Whig applied to the country party was of Scottish origin, shortened from Whiggamore, which was deduced from Whiggan, a sound used by drivers of the west of Scotland when driving; it was customary to drive every year to Edinburgh and Leith to purchase corn, and in 1648, when the Presbyterians with their ministers at their head marched on Edinburgh, their march was called "the Whiggamore Raid."

As is not uncommon, another version had its adherents, as an ancient writing shows: Whig (whey, buttermilk or very small beer) was first applied to those in Scotland who kept their meetings in the fields, their common food being sour milk; later it became a nickname given to those who were against the Court interest in the times of King Charles II and James II. Tory was first used by the Protestants in Ireland to signify those Irish common robbers and murderers who stood outlawed for robbery and murder; it afterwards evolved into a nickname to such as called themselves High Churchmen or partisans of the Court.

An inevitable reaction followed the exposure of the falsity of the Popish plot; the Whigs were furious, talked of revolt; anarchy again threatened. The Rye House Plot followed,

and Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney were executed, the latter without full justification. The Whigs dropped into disrepute. Charles rightly gauging the situation and feeling that the people would never dethrone him to put his brother in his place, ended his days in peace.

In the annals of London among memorable events which occurred were the Plague and the Fire; the former for years had been sporadic owing to the conditions of the closely packed houses and narrow streets. It broke out in the December of 1664 at the upper end of Drury Lane, and by the May and June of 1665 there was nothing to be seen in Whitechapel but wagons and carts with goods, women, servants, children, coaches filled with people of the better sort and horsemen attending them, all hurrying away. As the deaths increased nobody put on black or made a formal dress of mourning for their nearest friend; thoroughfares usually thickly thronged now grew desolate; in the pestilential air went forth reiterating cries like Jonah's to Nineveh: "Yet forty days and London shall be destroyed." And yet another cry: "Oh, the great and dreadful God, spare us, Good Lord, spare thy people whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood." Solomon Eagle, a fanatic, walked about, sometimes quite naked, with a pan of burning charcoal on his head, denouncing judgment on the city. Imagination ran riot; some beheld a flaming sword in a hand coming out of a cloud with the point hanging over the city; others saw hearses and coffins in the air. Isolation was ordered, houses closed, and every house which was visited marked with a red cross a foot long in the middle of the door, with the usual printed words, "Lord have mercy on us." At night-time men with links passed through the street, and bellmen constantly called out: "Bring out your dead to be buried." A great pit was dug in Aldgate Church, at first forty feet long, fifteen to sixteen feet wide, nine feet deep, then twenty; in a fortnight 1,114 bodies were buried without coffins but wrapped in linen sheets or rags. The plague very slowly declined. On September 2 the year following a great fire, which purified London, broke out, and consumed no fewer than 13,200 houses and most of the churches and corporation halls. When London was rebuilt the new houses yielded twice the rent they did before

the conflagration; and immediately before it they generally yielded a fourth more rent than they did twenty years earlier.

Everything English was now going out to America; things lovable and unlovable, philosophical, political, religious ideas, the theory of the social contract, the views of Hooker, Hobbes, Lord Bacon and Locke, dislike of military domination and of standing armies, as inimical to freedom; all kinds of sects, Church of England men, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists, Fifth Monarchy Men, Antinomians and Quakers; instruments of punishment, pillories, stocks, ducking-stools for scolds. Even words now disused in England found their home in America; when they came back their origin was unrecognized. No castles were built in America, but farms, homesteads, shops, dwelling-houses, churches and meeting-houses, custom-houses and Government residences.

Jamaica was peopled mainly by Irish and Scottish prisoners of war, deported by Cromwell. Like Barbadoes, Jamaica became prosperous through sugar; the first consignment to England was made in 1673 by the Governor. Sugar, however, was not its only export, but cotton, rum, molasses and allspice, or Jamaica pepper. The island soon attained great prosperity: Charles II created thirteen baronets from the ranks of its planters, some of whom possessed fortunes of £10,000 a year. The West Indian planter became as familiar a figure in London society as the Indian Nabob of later date.

In 1667 three ships, the *Carolina*, the *Port Royal* and *Albemarle*, sailed from the Downs with ninety-three passengers for America; the passengers were intending colonists who landed at Albemarle port on the Ashley river. They built Charlestown, the capital. The settlement of South Carolina was based on an idea of its forming a connexion with the West Indian Islands. Its development differed from the New England colonies, where the colonists soon separated themselves into different communities. Fears of invasions from Spanish and Indians restricted the colonists of Carolina to the immediate fortifications of Charlestown; the colony therefore progressed by an extension of its city or town life. For many years Charlestown virtually represented Carolina. From 1685 to 1687 French Huguenots settled there, and great

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sales of land were made to French, Swiss and Belgian refugees from the Continent.

By that great bay which Henry Hudson discovered before he was turned adrift by his mutinous crew in 1611, trading settlements were established by Prince Rupert and others, who formed the Hudson Bay Company; the territory included lands within the entrance of Hudson Bay already discovered, or lands likely to be discovered. The company was created for the purpose of importing furs and skins into England.

A great Englishman, William Penn, son of Admiral Penn, seeking in America a home for his brethren—the Quakers who were not only persecuted in England and New England but in Holland and Germany—established in west New Jersey a constitution which was based on the principles of the widest religious and civil liberty, and associated himself with others for the purchase of east New Jersey. After his father's death, in conjunction with Algernon Sidney and others he acquired an extensive tract of country named Pennsylvania—a company called the Free Society of Traders of Pennsylvania was formed, and a site of Philadelphia was chosen at a point where Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers meet. In the last days of November, 1682, Penn concluded his famous treaty of amity with the Indians. "The only treaty," said Voltaire, "which was never sworn to and never broken." The grant of Pennsylvania was made by Charles to Penn to satisfy a debt of £16,000 due by him to the executors of Admiral Penn, and title was vested in him and his heirs in consideration of making an annual payment of two beaver skins and a fifth part of its gold and silver ore. The country was settled by the immigration not only of Quakers but of Churchmen, Lutherans, Catholics, Moravians, Independents and Dumpsters who were attracted by the great freedom of its constitution. Thousands of emigrants came from Ireland and elsewhere.

England continued to prosper. In 1662 there were 40,000 men, women and children employed in London on the silk industry; its importance, however, rapidly increased with the importation of raw silk from India. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes thousands of French refugees settled in Soho and Spitalfields, where they found employment in the

industry. In 1681 the making of tinplates was introduced from Bohemia, although their manufacture was not commenced till some years later. Sir Josiah Child, a great authority of the period on commerce, relates as a sign of the wealth of the country that a third more money was now paid to apprentice lads to a trade than before, and that a third more commodities, especially tin and lead, were shipped abroad. In a comparison between England and Holland he dealt with the effect of custom duties, and remarked that they ran once for all; but a high rate of interest ran on ships as well as goods and must be paid annually on both so long as they were in being. He considered that a high rate of interest was far more prejudicial than high custom duties.

Charles II died on February 6, 1685, after a short illness. When his life was wholly despaired of, and it was time to prepare for another world, two bishops came to do their function, reading the prayers appointed in the Common Prayer Book for that occasion. When they came to the place where usually a sick person is exhorted to make confession of his sin, the Bishop of Bath and Wells told Charles it was not of obligation, and after a short exhortation asked him if he was sorry for his sins; the King saying he was, the bishop pronounced the Absolution, and then asked Charles if he were pleased to receive the Sacrament? To which the King made no reply, and being pressed by the bishop several times, gave no other answer but that there was time enough or that he would think of it. His brother James desired the company to stand a little from the bed, and then asked the King whether he should send for a priest, to which the King replied, "For God's sake, brother, do, and lose no time." The Duke said he would bring one to him, but none could be found except Father Huddleston, who had been of such help in the King's escape from Worcester. He was brought up a back staircase and the company were desired to withdraw, but he (the Duke of York), not thinking fit that the priest should be left alone with the King, desired the Earl of Bath, a lord of the bedchamber, and the Earl of Feversham, Captain of the Guard, should stay. The rest being gone, Father Huddleston was introduced and administered the Sacrament, and so the King passed away.

CHAPTER XV

JAMES II (1685—1688)

THE period from 1685 to 1688 covers the reign of James II. "A King," writes Bolingbroke, "who was above fifty when he came to the Throne. He had experience of all kinds, especially of the temper of the nation, and of the impossibility to attempt introducing Popery without hazarding his crown, but his experience profited him not. His bigotry drew false conclusions from it. He flattered himself that he should be able to play parties against one another better than his brother had done (which, by the way, was the least of all his little talents), and to complete his design by an authority which was but too well established."

The proclamation of his sovereignty was a heavy solemnity, followed by a dead silence throughout the streets of London; it was by no means a joyful day. Thenceforward we may watch the progress of the drama of the reign played through hurrying, breathless scenes. On June 11, 1685, the Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles II, landed in the west of England, and there raised the standard of rebellion. Its suppression, his defeat at the Battle of Sedgemoor, his flight, capture and execution, the brutalities of Kirke and his Lambs, the dragooning of the people, the hangings at Bridgewater where the victims dangled from the gallows, their last agonies drowned in the noise of the drums, and the progress of Judge Jeffreys on his bloody assize, were some of the dark events which occurred in the interval between the prorogation of the first Parliament of James II and its second assembling. The King demanded from it two things, both innovations: the abolition of the Test Act and provision for a standing army. Parliament was hostile to both. The former was a threat to the Established Church, the latter a menace to the people's liberties. Public opinion was now greatly influenced by the French refugees who streamed into

the country. A French writer, Claude, had published an account of the cruel persecutions of the Protestants in France. His book was translated into English and published. Both the translator and publisher were fined and imprisoned, and all copies of the book to be found were burned. Englishmen turned their eyes from France, with her political and religious liberties in fetters. England must look narrowly to her own.

Soon after the King's accession a Grand Committee of Parliament recommended that the laws should be more strictly enforced against the Dissenters, and, for a time, they were more strictly enforced. Nevertheless, the Dissenters continued their teachings, frequently shifting their places of worship, meeting very early or very late in private houses, and where dwellings joined "they made windows or holes in the walls, that the preacher's voice might be heard in two or three houses. They had sometimes private passages from one house to another, and trap-doors for the escape of the minister, who went always in disguise except when he was discharging his office in country towns or villages." The preachers were admitted through back yards or gardens into the house to avoid the observation of neighbours and passengers. They never sang psalms, the minister being placed in such an inward part of the house that his voice might not be heard in the street. Hundreds of men and women left for America, taking with them a deep-rooted hatred of kings and standing armies, and an attachment to the great principles of liberty which their descendants afterwards embodied in their State constitutions, and in the great constitution of the United States.

In accordance with his policy of playing one party against another, Church against Dissent, James published a Declaration for liberty of conscience by a power which he claimed of dispensing with the law. The Dissenters, however, were not fooled. "Was anything more absurd than the conduct of James and his party," wrote Daniel Defoe, "in wheedling Dissenters and expecting they should be content with their liberty at the price of their conscience."

The attack on the Church of England commenced with encroachments on the rights of the Universities, and it

culminated in the imprisonment and trial of seven bishops who refused to order the reading of this Declaration in their dioceses. They were committed to the Tower. It was deemed prudent, however, that they should not be conveyed through the City, so at Westminster a boat was procured, but the people followed them in crowds along the banks of the river, cheering them and calling down blessings upon them as they passed. No sooner had they landed at the Tower than the garrison, officers and men, manifested their sympathy with the populace by casting themselves at their feet, and lauding them as protectors of the laws and religion of their country. At their trial their counsel argued that the promulgation of the Declaration of liberty of conscience by Royal power was illegal, for to abrogate laws is as much a part of the legislature as the power to make laws; a power to lay laws asleep and to suspend laws is equal to a power of abrogation. Both are equally parts of the legislature, and by the law of the land the legislative power resided not in the King alone, but jointly with the King, Lords and Commons. The judges were not unanimous on the constitutional point, and the jury spent the night in discussing the facts; when morning came they returned a verdict of "Not guilty." It was received with shouts of joy, which were re-echoed through the streets and travelled far beyond the metropolis. Even in the tents of the Royal Army at Hounslow the news was loudly cheered. James, hearing the unusual sounds, inquired the meaning. He was told it was nothing; only the soldiers rejoicing at the acquittal of the bishops. "Do you call that nothing," he cried passionately, "but so much the worse for them."

The unrest occasioned by the attempt to divide the nation on civil and religious questions was the signal for an outbreak of French aggression. The balance of power on the Continent, which, during the reign of Charles II, had tipped dangerously low against the liberties of Europe, was now in a fair way to sink still lower. Louis XIV, who was kept well informed of what was occurring in England, suddenly directed his armies against Germany. Holland had fears for herself. The Princess Mary, who was presumptive heiress to the Throne of England, was then living with her husband,

William, Prince of Orange, who was cautiously watching the progress of affairs. In the spring of 1687 a secret correspondence began between William and some leaders of the Whig and Tory parties, viz. Halifax, Danby and Nottingham. But it was not till the birth of a son to James II put an end to all hope of a Protestant succession that an invitation was sent in June, 1688, to Holland, to ask William to come over and deliver England. This invitation, signed in cipher by Danby, Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Delaware, Lumley, Bishop of London and Admiral Russell, was accepted, and William landed at Torbay with a Dutch army. It was immediately perceived that James's policy was only a crumbling structure. The Dissenters at once rallied to the Church. "Have a very tender regard to your brethren, the political Dissenters," wrote Archbishop Sancroft to the clergy. "Visit them at their houses and receive them kindly in your own, treat them fairly whenever you meet them, take all opportunities of convincing them that the bishops of the Church are sincere and irreconcilable enemies of Popery, and that the very unkind jealousies which some have had of the bishops to the contrary were altogether groundless, and in the last warmly and most affectionately exhort them to unite in daily and fervent prayer to the God of Peace for a union of all reform Churches, both at home and abroad, against the common enemies."

The position which was adopted by the Dissenters may be illustrated by the action of Jeremiah White, who had been a domestic chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. He had collected a list of the names of 60,000 persons, who had been prosecuted, as he alleged, on religious grounds since the Restoration. James offered him a thousand guineas for it, but White refused.

William of Orange arrived at St. James's Palace on December 18, 1688, forty-three days after his landing at Brixham. James's army had crumbled before his advance. These days were pregnant with stirring events. One of the King's daughters, Mary, wife of his nephew Prince of Orange, had already declared against him; the other, Anne, now followed. James II had married twice; Mary and Anne were his daughters by his first wife, the daughter of Lord

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Chancellor Hyde (Clarendon). On his second marriage James presented his bride, Mary Beatrice d'Este, sister of the Duke of Modena, to his daughters as young enough to be their playmate. Anne's great friend was Mrs. Churchill, who, as Sarah Jennings, had been a sprightly beauty in the Court of Charles II. She had no fortune, neither had her husband, the son of Sir Winston Churchill. Mrs. Churchill, however, was so pleasing to the Princess that she had in the late reign successfully begged that she might be transferred from the service of her stepmother, the Duchess of York, to her own. The Princess and Mrs. Churchill then became the closest friends, and corresponded frequently with each other as Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman.

When the Prince of Orange advanced from the west of England on London, the Princess Anne's husband, Prince George, and Mrs. Churchill's husband, Colonel Churchill, 'Mr. Morley and Mr. Freeman,' deserted James to join William. Soon after this the Princess Anne and Mrs. Churchill fled from London, crossing St. James's Park in the gloom of a November night. The Princess lost one of her high-heeled shoes, which stuck in the mud; a gallant gentleman's glove supplied its place. In a carriage awaiting her she drove to the house of the Bishop of London, and afterwards to his brother's house at Northampton to await the issue of events. It was rapidly determined, for the whole country was hostile to James. On December 11 he determined to leave England; taking a coach at Whitehall, he drove to Millbank and ferried across the Thames at Vauxhall; proceeding to Sheerness, he shipped on board a hoy at Sheppey, but the hoy was boarded by fishermen, who seized him and took him before the mayor. He was released and returned to London. On December 16 a final attempt to compromise was made by the Council, but all proposals were rejected, except one—for the introduction of Dutch Guards at St. James's. The next day the King left London for Rochester; taking passage for France, he reached Ambleuse in Picardy on Christmas Day, 1688. No attempt was made to interfere with his departure. It was probably thought that one martyr was enough for one family.

A Convention was summoned of members of Parliament who had sat in the Parliament of Charles II, who declared the Crown vacant, and William and Mary were asked to accept it jointly as King and Queen. William had previously let it be known that he intended to reign. "He would not be his wife's gentleman usher." The new Sovereigns assented to a great Declaration of Rights, a fresh charter of England's liberties.

With their coronation the curtain may be rung down on one of the best-ordered revolutions in history. It was of European importance, for it at once restored the old friendship with Holland and prepared the way for the formation of a powerful league which ultimately saved Europe from the menace of a universal French autocracy.

We may now shortly summarize the leading idea which directed English life after the Reformation. The Reformation of Henry VIII was political, the outcome of the desire of England to be free from foreign jurisdiction. During the reign of Edward VI it assumed a religious character. The Roman Catholic bishops, who had accepted it in the time of Henry VIII, were unable to do so under Protector Somerset. In the reign of Elizabeth the bulk of the Roman Catholic laity accepted her. Seriously alarmed at the progress of the Reformation in Europe, the Papacy then began a strong campaign to regain its lost ground, and succeeded in recovering a large portion of it. A powerful instrument for its purpose was the Jesuit order, which in England carried out an unceasing propaganda during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I and Charles II. Their principal object was to secure the adhesion of the executives, not only kings and queens, but of any person who was likely to succeed to the Crown. The animosity displayed against Archbishop Laud and the High Church party during the reign of Charles I arose from the fear that they were secretly aiming at the restoration of the influence of Rome. Charles II died a secret member of the Roman Catholic Church; James II was an open member. The French King, Louis XIV, was directly under Jesuit influence. Civil liberty in England, and all comprised in that word, was identified with Protestantism. So violent were the forces set loose in the struggle between parties that

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toleration ceased to be regarded as a virtue. Its history demonstrates the individualistic character of the British people. As soon as the Roman Catholic Church ceased to attempt to exercise political influence in Great Britain, it began to gain ground; the disabilities of Roman Catholics were removed, and the principle of universal toleration for all religious sects was readily admitted.

CHAPTER XVI

WILLIAM AND MARY (1688—1703)

WILLIAM III of England was the posthumous son of William II, the Stadtholder of Holland, who had married Mary, daughter of Charles I. Queen Mary, her niece, daughter of James II, was born at St. James's Palace in 1662, and was educated strictly in the Protestant faith, from which she never wavered. Her marriage with William of Orange was suddenly resolved upon with but little preliminary courtship; she had been looked upon as a match for the Dauphin of France, although Danby and other Protestant leaders favoured William. In 1677 he unexpectedly arrived in England and asked her hand of Charles II, inspired by an idea that it would bring about a general peace in Europe. Charles II assented, but some time elapsed before the ceremony took place owing to the order for the wedding dresses of the Princess being placed in Paris. The order gave so much offence to the City of London that no public festivities were authorized. The Princess was then a girl between fifteen and sixteen years of age, and was not even informed of her coming marriage by Charles till shortly before it took place. When she was told she wept all that afternoon and the next day. She is described as a tall, slender and graceful girl, with a clear complexion, almond-shaped dark eyes, dark hair, and an elegant outline of features. Charles was present at the wedding which took place at nine o'clock at night, and when the Prince, in token of his endowing her with all his worldly goods, placed a handful of gold and silver coins on the open Book, the monarch told her to gather it all up and to put it all in her pocket for 'twas all clear gain. Louis XIV was displeased and promptly stopped Charles's pension. It was noticed that the French ambassador looked remarkably discontented. The birth of a son to James two days after the marriage also upset William, for Mary was no longer

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heiress to the Crown. The infant, however, died within five days. The Prince showed himself very disagreeable, and was talked of at Court, first as the Dutch Monster, till the name of Caliban was invented for him, a name the Princess Anne never forgot. Mary at first disliked her husband, but ultimately she learned to worship him with all her soul next to her God, though she had frequent cause to sorrow over his infidelities.

On her departure for Holland the young bride was dissolved in tears. Good-natured Catherine, Charles II's wife, tried to console her by telling her how miserable she felt when she left Portugal for England to marry Charles. "Ah," whimpered Mary, "you were leaving Portugal for England, I am leaving England for Holland."

William III was taciturn by nature, of delicate constitution, and his spirit ultimately wore out his body. The cares of two States, and the leadership of Europe rested upon his shoulders. In Holland he was surrounded by difficulties arising from the necessities of trade and defence, and the reconciliation of popular government with the war. In England two political parties existed; similar problems to those in his native land were present; in addition there was a hostile and powerful Jacobite faction. In neither country was there such marked unity of purpose as in France. Louis XIV was secretly married to Madame de Maintenon; influenced by the Jesuits, she suggested the Revocation (1685) of the Edict of Nantes, which dispersed French refugees into all parts of the world, even to distant Virginia, where William settled some of them.

On William and Mary's accession, Parliament promised to support them in the impending struggle with France. In consequence William was able to form the Grand Alliance, which included in its membership the United Provinces of Holland, the Emperor of Germany, Spain, Savoy and England. Secret clauses in the treaties recognized Austria's claim to the succession to the throne of Spain in preference to the pretensions of France. The war, now begun, dragged on many years, ultimately terminating with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. At one period, in 1692, Louis attempted to invade England, but, off Cape La Hogue, the French fleet

was defeated by the combined navies of England and Holland, and threats of invasion became empty menaces.

Stirring events fill the pages of domestic history. There were rebellions in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland, Claverhouse, Bonnie Dundee, quitting a Convention at Edinburgh summoned to acknowledge the King and Queen of England, raised the standard of James II in the Highlands, but died in his hour of victory in the Pass of Killiecrankie. Ireland declared for James II. Nothing was left there of English sovereignty but Londonderry and Enniskillen. In a conquering campaign William extinguished James's fortunes, but left, like Cromwell, memories behind which burned in the hearts of the Irish. The pages of history glow with romantic stories; from the Valley of Glencoe there sounded the mournful wail of the pibroch. Like flowers of a forest destroyed by some deadly blast, the Macdonalds were massacred, a massacre which left a stain upon William's memory.

As Dutch influences penetrated English life, the Bank of England was established. By 1694 stockbrokers were engaged in dealing in five million stock or so of national debt made available for purposes of transfer. Before a National Debt was created, money in England was largely hoarded. Alexander Pope's father, apprehending revolution, fled with his fortune of £20,000 in a box. War brought new taxes, but gave birth to new industries. As expenditure mounted, borrowing commenced, lottery loans were floated; the first for a million pounds, then for a million two hundred thousand pounds; arising out of the floating of the second loan the Bank of England opened its doors.

During the reign of Charles II taxation had been principally derived from customs, excise, poll taxes and the hearth taxes. The customs were old duties originally raised for the protection of the realm; excise was first introduced by the elder Pym, who is generally referred to as its father. At first it was levied on beer, cider and perry, afterwards on flesh, victuals, salt, alum, silks and stuffs and imported merchandise. The duty on foreign tobacco for a time was a shilling a pound, and on English plantation tobacco a penny.

As a carrier nation Holland favoured the raising of revenue

by excise taxes, since she considered they impeded her shipping industry and commerce less than customs.

At the Restoration excise was not at first granted the Crown by Parliament, but on Charles II surrendering the right to collect feudal dues, the Crown was empowered to levy excise on beer, ale, liquor and other articles, such as coffee, chocolate and sherbet. Preferences for colonial produce were given on sugar and tobacco, but the colonists were not allowed to refine it, the manufacturing being confined to England. The French war added to the number of excise taxes :

“ Mourn for a ten years’ war and dismal weather,
And taxes strung like necklaces together,
On salt, malt, paper, cider, lights and leather.”

Excise taxes were continued after the Peace of Ryswick, and added to by subsequent wars.

The customs were also increased from time to time, special duties were levied on wine and tobacco in 1685, and new duties on coffee, cocoanuts, tea and spices in 1695. It may be remarked that the increasing wealth of the country was now more than adequate to bear the burden of taxation. With the growth of her colonial trade England became very prosperous. One impost, however, of Charles II created the greatest discontent, the hearth or chimney tax of French origin which was charged on the householder; two shillings being payable on every hearth or stove in a house. First imposed in 1662, it was taken off in 1689. The new Government of William and Mary, writes Hampden (*State Tracts*, II, p. 309) : “ came in upon a foot of liberty, and the reason that the chimney-money was taken off was this : that every man might have his house free.” Free it could not be when chimney-men, as the collectors were called, were at liberty to enter a house to count the number of hearths it contained.

In succession to it the house tax of 2s. was imposed in 1696, with higher rates for houses having more than a stated number of windows (7 and 8 Will. III, c. 18), as windows could be counted without violating the domestic sanctuary. Another tax intensely disliked since the days of Wat Tyler was the poll or head tax. During the reign of Charles II it

was charged according to the rank and condition of life of the taxpayer and the office he held, the servants he kept and the wages he paid; poll taxes were finally abandoned in 1698. Whilst they were still in force Pepys in his Diary mentions the call of a collector: "This morning came the collector for my poll money. I paid for my title as Esquire and place of Clerk of Acts and my head and wife and servants and their wages, £40 17s. od." "What minister," said Henry Fox in 1748, "would presume again to suggest the hated hearth-money of the Stuarts, or the poll-taxes of the reign of William III?" Land taxes were imposed at the rate of two shillings in the pound, and two staple beverages—tea and coffee—were marked out for taxation. Tea first made its appearance about 1657, when Garraway opened a tea-house in Exchange Alley, where it was sold at from £5 to £10 a pound. Pepys chronicles its appearance under date September 28, 1660: "I did send for a cup of tea, a China drink of which I had never heard before." Two years later Mrs. Pepys was drinking it under medical advice, Pepys writes: "Home, and there find my wife making of tea a drink which Mr. Pelling, the apothecary, tells her is good for her cold and defluxion." China tea was brought from the Indies by the East India Company's ships, and year by year in increasing quantities. Coffee, introduced by a Greek from the Levant, became very popular and inspired the brilliant writing and talking of many of London's coffee-house politicians.

Whilst the fiscal system of the country was in uncertainty, the form of government was also changing by the creation of a Parliamentary Executive. In Charles I's reign it had seemed impossible to reconcile the workings of the legislative body with the Executive. Parliament was established to pass laws, whilst the King and his Privy Council administered the functions of government. In the time of Charles I and Charles II Parliament determined to do more than legislate, it desired to direct policy. If the King was able to choose Ministers not responsible to Parliament, Parliament could not govern; a solution was found in a compromise, the King choosing his Council from members of Parliament who commanded its confidence. The Privy Council, however, remained; too large and useless for purposes of government, Charles II only

consulted a few of its number—a committee. This committee of the Council became the Cabinet. With the growth of the Empire a new system was also demanded by Parliament for its government. Hitherto it had been governed by committees of the Privy Council. In 1696, during the French war, English shipping had suffered so considerably that the losses of the merchants led to a demand for the creation of a Board of Trade. William established this by virtue of his prerogative powers, declining to assent to its creation by an Act of Parliament, wishing it to be independent. The Board of Trade consisted of eight members, seven of whom were paid a thousand a year, the president fifteen hundred. Its members were nominated by Parliament. There was no colonial representation; ultimately it was drawn into antagonism with colonial interests. The Board of Trade was so constituted as to allow the Lord Chancellor, the Secretaries of State, and other great officers to attend its meetings, and they occasionally did so, but it was technically a delegation of the Privy Council; its functions were to examine trade questions and the improvement of manufactures; to foster new manufactures and see to the employment of the poor. Its colonial functions were to examine into the conditions of the plantations as well with regard to the administration of their government as in relation to their commerce, and how they might be rendered most beneficial to the kingdom; to inquire what naval stores might be furnished from them and how they best might be procured; to prepare instructions for governors and take account of their administration; to examine the journals of their Councils and Acts or laws made by the respective general assemblies in order to His Majesty's approbation or disallowance thereof. One of its early distinguished members was John Methuen, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who, when Chancellor, was sent to Portugal on a mission which ultimately resulted in the signing of the Methuen Treaty, completed by his son, Sir Paul Methuen, and John Locke, the famous philosopher.

Changes in agricultural policy were effected by two measures, one dealing with the export of grain. It had been found by experience that the export of corn and grain into foreign parts, when the price thereof was at a low rate, was a

great advantage not only to the owners of land but to commercial interests. An Act provided that a bounty should be paid on exported grain when the price of malt or barley was 24s. a quarter or under, when rye was 32s. or under, and wheat 48s., at the following rates : half a crown a quarter on barley or malt, three and sixpence a quarter on rye and five shillings on wheat. The effect of the bounty was to increase tillage; it secured the growers certain markets in years of plenty; in times of scarcity the whole crop was required for England. During the extraordinary scarcity which prevailed, not only in England but on the Continent, in 1699, the Act was suspended for a year. Ultimately the bounty cheapened the price of corn by increasing production; corn prices fell after 1700 to a lower average than before. The other Act restricted the export of wool. Two apparently opposite policies were adopted. Taken together they increased tillage and diminished pasture, or at least prevented its increase. Whilst the Corn Act benefited landowners and farmers, the latter Act secured the manufacturers cheap wool.

The agricultural interests received further compensation in 1691, for to alleviate any loss incurred by the restriction of the market for wool they were permitted to export free of all customs, beef, pork, butter and cheese. That higher prices at the time would have been offered by French manufacturers for English wool was perfectly clear from the strenuous efforts made to smuggle it across the Channel. To stop smuggling special restrictions were imposed on growers who lived near the seashore and a register of wool was established. It had been a common practice in the Romney Marshes when the sheep were shorn to leave the wool near the seashore where it could be easily transferred across the Channel by night. The supply of cheap wool was further secured by an Act which encouraged its import from Ireland; and restrictions imposed on the export of fuller's earth and scouring clay, materials used in manufacture. Another event of great commercial moment was the valuation of all exports and imports for purposes of customs. Every article was now priced at its current value. For over a century the official return of exports and imports was based on these prices. After a while

these old official returns ceased to show real values; they effectually disguised the high prices charged to the American colonist in the years which preceded the Declaration of American Independence, and after the Battle of Waterloo they concealed the enormous shrinkage in the values. The cost of the Napoleonic wars fell mainly upon the working classes of the country.

An interesting personage, Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia, spent some time in London in 1697 studying ship-building. He found leisure to see things for himself. He attended a Quakers' meeting incognito, the theatre, and even went to a Temple masquerade disguised as a butcher. One good result of his visit was the concession which he granted to English merchants to carry ten thousand hogsheads of tobacco to Russia.

During the war trading with France was carried on in spite of all precautions. Half a million of French silks were exchanged for English wool; several French merchants were impeached for their conduct, eight of whom pleaded guilty and were heavily fined.

Whilst the King generally confined his attention to political and administrative affairs, the Queen devoted herself to dispensing Church patronage. William never attained any personal popularity, nor did he court it. He felt he was as necessary to England as England was to him. From his peculiar position, however, he was not able to resist the demands for domestic reforms pressed upon him; on the other hand, parties dared not press him too far lest he might abdicate. At the beginning of his reign he relied upon both parties, but gradually he turned to the Whigs more and more for their support in the war. In return he conceded most of their demands. To ensure frequent Parliaments they pressed for a Triennial Act, by which new Parliaments were to be summoned for the duration of three years; the first Parliament under this Act met on November 22, 1695. Whig in composition, it stood for a strenuous prosecution of the war, which, however, ended the following year. The dangers involved in the question of the future accession to the throne of Spain were not generally understood; apparently, there was no reason why there should not be a general disarm-

ment. The feeling of the country was shown at the General Election of 1701, which brought the Tory party to power. It was, however, manifest to the King that the secret clauses in the Treaty by which it was arranged the throne of Spain should fall to the father of the Elector of Bavaria in the event of the Elector's death were not likely to be observed by Louis XIV. When Charles II of Spain died, it was found he had left a will bequeathing his inheritance to Philip of Anjou, younger son of the Dauphin of France. The Elector of Bavaria was now dead. The Tory party saw no objection to the French succession, nor did the States-General of Holland; they even went so far as to recognize Philip as King of Spain. William was hard pressed to carry out his plans, but, ultimately, the Tories left it for him to support a lasting peace or prosecute a necessary war.

On September 7, 1701, William renewed the Grand Alliance the day after the death of James II. William was not aware then that Louis had recognized James's son as King of England, a step in itself tantamount to war. Public opinion turned to the Whigs, and William dissolved Parliament. The result of the elections was that the Tories returned with a smaller majority to power. Public opinion now began steadily to run against them; William once more looked to the Whigs for support in the coming war.

A question over-ripe for solution was the union of England and Scotland. The Scots had long lamented that they were the only maritime nation in Europe, not on Mediterranean or Baltic shores, who had no colony or settlement outside Europe. In 1693 they took steps to obtain one. The Scottish Parliament passed an Act to encourage foreign trade, more especially in Asia, Africa and America, and empowered merchants to enter into commercial societies. By another Act and a charter of William a company was formed for making a settlement at Darien, near the Isthmus of Panama. Its grant alarmed the English merchants, who took strong measures to defeat it. Notwithstanding their opposition, in 1699 a settlement was attempted, and five stout ships carrying 1,200 men reached Panama. The settlers landed and built a fort they called St. Andrews, and a town they named New Edinburgh, and the name Darien was altered

to New Caledonia. The position chosen between North and South America was admittedly one of the finest in the world and afforded the greatest commercial advantages. The excellence of its prospects, however, proved fatal to all hopes of its success. The English merchants did not relax their opposition, and the Dutch eyed it with jealous eyes. Spain protested, and France was angry, for she was now founding a new colony in the Bay of Mexico, near the mouth of the Mississippi in territory hitherto accounted as Spanish-Florida. William was compelled to yield to the pressure put upon him from all quarters. The Governors of the American plantations were ordered to stop all intercourse with the Scottish settlement. Deprived of all supplies from New England, New York and Jamaica, and attacked by the Spanish, New Caledonia was abandoned. Scotland angry, indignantly demanded redress; William answered with a promise of union; a Bill was introduced. Passed by the Lords, it was rejected by the House of Commons. William still had the union greatly at heart; on the Saturday evening, when he was dying, when the matter was mentioned, he said, "When he was in his grave the people of England would have no reason to say that he aimed at anything but their good."

Another Act established the succession of Protestant Sovereigns to the throne of England; by this Act James and his descendants were barred from the English Crown.

We may dip into the chronicles of the social life of London and note the disappearance of those privileged places to which debtors were wont to retire with the money and merchandise of their creditors, and then set them at defiance. No officer of the law had hitherto dared without risk of life to penetrate the sanctuaries of Salisbury Court, Whitefriars, or Mitre Court in Fleet Street, Fulwood's Rents in Holborn, Baldwin's Gardens in Gray's Inn Road, Dead Man's Place, the Clink, and the Mint, Southwark. They now were all swept away by Act of Parliament. The Mint, although prohibited, sprang up again in more outrageous fashion and managed to survive to the reign of George I.

The wheels of the Empire still revolved around London, but from the City and along the banks of the Thames, through Westminster, Kensington and Hampton Court, there

was a Dutch atmosphere. Dutch guards in blue kept their watch at the Royal Palace gates. Straight canals like those of Holland were cut at Hampton Court, tulip beds and formal gardening bore witness to the new fashion.

Some of the great gains which came through the Revolution may be mentioned. Laws could no longer be suspended nor dispensed with by Royal authority, nor money raised without a grant of Parliament; no excessive bail or fine might be insisted upon, nor cruel nor unusual punishments inflicted; freedom of speech and debate in Parliament might not be questioned outside its walls; Parliaments met every three years, and elections of members were free.

Just before William's death the British Empire and Holland were preparing for war against France. The States-General was sending over delegates to England, each nation now providing fifty-three warships. Before it broke out William was dead. Mounted on Sorrel, a horse once belonging to Sir John Fenwick, the King was thrown by its stumbling over a mole hill in Hampton Court Park, when he received injuries which proved fatal. Mary had pre-deceased him; cold and without affection to all but his countrymen, as he lay dead his attendants removed from his left arm a gold ring with Mary's hair in it.

Throughout the reign the Jacobites were active. In one of the avenues of Hyde Park Sir John Fenwick and others swaggered openly, so that it was called Jacobite Avenue, and there Fenwick rudely cocked his head in the Queen's face. Afterwards attainted for a treasonable conspiracy, he was executed, and his body buried by torchlight under the pavement of the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Once a screwed pistol loaded with two bullets was picked up near the Communion table of St. James's Chapel when the King was attending service, and on another occasion a conspiracy was divulged by a conspirator who called at Kensington Palace and related how Charnock had collected a party of forty men to kill the King near Turnham Green on his return from hunting on February 15, 1695.

The cloud of the great Continental war cast its shadows over the whole of the reign. Useless would have been the struggle for Constitutional freedom and liberty had England

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then succumbed. The destinies of America would have been altered had Louis XIV succeeded in dominating Europe.

For years afterwards the Jacobites were in the habit of toasting the Little Gentleman in Black Velvet, the mole which made the mound in Hampton Court Park. They preached that God's curse was on James's daughters after Mary had died childless, and all Anne's children had died before her. With them the belief in the divine right of kings still was a living faith.

CHAPTER XVII

QUEEN ANNE (1702—1714)

ANNE, affectionately called "Good Queen Anne," as a girl was a rosy Hebe, with a pretty round face, dark chestnut-brown hair, sanguine and ruddy complexion and regular features. She never willingly opened a book, and was an early proficient at cards and gossiping. Such was the Queen who lived through an era of triumphant war.

In her 'teens Lord Sheffield had recounted her charms in verse and talked love to her in prose, but her dear friend Sarah Churchill informed Charles II, with the result that a royal husband was promptly sought for her. The choice fell upon Prince George of Denmark, "a dull dog." "I have tried him drunk, and I have tried him sober," said Charles II, "and there is nothing in him either way." On July 28, 1683, Anne was married. On Sunday, March 8, 1702, William III died, in anticipation of which half-hourly bulletins had been conveyed from Kensington to Anne at St. James's.

Parliament sat the last Saturday of William III's reign, and was in session on the Sunday. Half of the country was already in black for James II who had died the previous September, the other half now put on black for William; for a year there was one universal gloom of costume. The Coronation took place on St. George's Day. It took place at a time when big events were stirring in the world's affairs. Luttrell makes a note in his diary that on May 2 "Mr. Edward Seymore, from Her Majesty, acquainted the House that she was obliged by her treaties to stand by the Emperor and Dutch, and they all agreed to declare war against France and Spain on Monday next. Upon which the House resolved that an address of thanks be presented to Her Majesty for graciously communicating to them her intention of declaring war, in conjunction with her Allies, against the French

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King and his grandson, and to assure Her Majesty that they will to their utmost assist her in carrying on the said war." With Anne's declaration of war a series of famous victories began. At the very start Parliament was anxious that there should be no correspondence between the French and Dutch during the war, for during the preceding war 3,000 English vessels had been destroyed as against only sixty-seven French, by reason of the French carrying on their trade in Dutch bottoms. "Enemy goods," the Dutch argued, "were not enemy goods when they were transported in neutral vessels, since the character of the ship determined the character of the goods." British acquiescence in this doctrine had proved disastrous. The Dutch, moreover, were not neutral, but allies. The failure to destroy French commerce was a cause of the protraction of the war. The Dutch, however, suffered at the Peace of Ryswick, for they failed to obtain the desired good commercial treaty with France. In reply to British remonstrances, the Dutch informed the Earl of Marlborough that as to letters it was contrary to their constitution.

The war map of 1702 included a large portion of Europe; Italy, Spain, Germany and Flanders. We may look at Marlborough and Prince Eugene's campaigns in Bavaria and Flanders in 1704, but we must also have regard to that of the Earl of Peterborough in Spain in 1705, and the struggles in America.

In home affairs power shifted from the Tories to the Whigs with the growing ascendancy of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. Early successes delighted Parliament. There was two hours' debate in the Commons upon the Earl of Marlborough retrieving the honour of the English nation. Some would have the word retrieving changed for maintaining or advancing, but upon a division it was carried for retrieving—180 against 80. Public opinion had never been satisfied with the results of William III's war. On the afternoon of August 10, 1704, Queen Anne was sitting in that room at Windsor Castle which commands a fine view over the back terrace, when the good news of Marlborough's triumph at Blenheim was brought her. "I have not time," wrote Marlborough, "to say more than to beg of you to

present my humble duties to the Queen, and let Her Majesty know that her army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest. Colonel Parke will give Her Majesty an account of what has passed. I shall do it in a day or two by another more at large."

The note was pencilled by Marlborough on horseback. The victory was everywhere received with rapture; it was the only great foreign battle that had been gained by England for many years. Since Agincourt not one victory had rewarded the nation on land in exchange for all the blood and treasure spent. It was said in Europe that the island bulldogs could only tear each other. It was not only for Marlborough's victories that the guns of the Tower began to fire. There were many victories on land and sea. In 1703 the King of Portugal signed the Methuen Treaty. By its terms woollen fabrics and the rest of the woollen manufactures of the Britons were admitted into Portugal in return for the admission of her wines into Britain. Whether Great Britain was at peace or war with France, it was agreed no higher duty should be charged on Portuguese than upon French wines. As a result English exports to Portugal increased from about £300,000 a year to nearer one million and a half, and it became fashionable to drink port wine. The Portuguese alliance enabled an expedition to be sent to Spain.

As Charles III, the son of Emperor Leopold of Austria, had been proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies, to secure his succession an English army was required in Spain. In November, whilst this was preparing, a terrific tempest swept over the country.

The Austrian King of Spain was consequently delayed and did not reach England till December 28. On January 6 he sailed with ships and forces for Lisbon. The war in Spain brings on the stage of history that highly romantic personage—Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough. "A little spare man, a skeleton in outward figure, but of pleasing appearance and winning manners." He and Admiral Rooke were appointed joint admirals and commanders-in-chief of the expedition. We need not linger over the gallant campaigns of Peterborough, "Old Don Quixote," as he was

called, or his tour of the Courts of Europe. Marlborough had no opinion of his generalship. "He did not think much ceremony ought to be used in removing him from a place where he had hazarded the loss of the whole country." Admiral Rooke captured Gibraltar in an action, says Bishop Burnett, that scarce ever was equalled, and never can be surpassed. Some bold men ventured to go ashore in a place where it was not thought possible to climb up the rocks, yet they succeeded in scaling the heights. By their achievement they gained for England the Gate of the Mediterranean—the Rock.

Whilst war was waged by land and sea, Church and Dissenters were still at enmity, notwithstanding the greater toleration introduced by the Revolution. Daniel Defoe, a Nonconformist, stood in the pillory at the Royal Exchange, with the people forming a guard around him, covering the pillory with flowers and drinking his health. He was suffering for writing a book called "The Shortest Way with Dissenters," 80,000 copies of which were sold. He had suggested, with bitter irony, that the shortest way was to extirpate them.

Defoe, who was born in the Parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, was a middle-sized, spare man with a brown complexion and dark-brown coloured hair. He wore a wig, his nose was hooked, he had a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth. He was the famous author of "Robinson Crusoe," a book which has sent many boys across the seas to share in Empire building.

Political and religious ideas were in a strange jumble. All views were expressed in papers such as the *Review*, the *Observer*, the *Rehearsal*, the *News Letter*, the *Whitehall Post*, and *Applebees Journal*. The mounting waves of victory continued to keep the Whigs and Marlborough in power. So strong were the Whigs after the victories of Blenheim, Ramillies and Oudenarde that nothing seemed likely to displace them. From Elizabethan times English ships had obtained pitch, tar and materials for shipbuilding from the Baltic, but in 1703 the Swedish Pitch and Tar Company, taking advantage of the war, raised their prices for naval stores, and declared that they would send them when they

liked and in such quantities as they chose, and only in Swedish ships to England. To assist the new pitch and tar industry in America a bounty was now paid on the export of similar materials to England. How necessary they were may be imagined when we consider the enormous requirements of the shipping. Merchant fleets of 150 vessels at a time from Virginia reached England; fleets from the Sugar Islands and great vessels from the East Indies. This bounty was continued by an Act of 1721. Great quantities of pitch and tar were then imported from the colonies. No longer was Great Britain dependent upon Sweden for means of defence. In Sir Robert Walpole's time all custom duties on wood, lumber and hemp from America were abolished, all timber entering England free of duty except masts and bowsprits. The indiscriminate cutting of the white pine trees was prohibited, and this restriction extended to Nova Scotia as soon as it became British. The bounty proved highly beneficial to the American people.

Few can read the story of this reign without puzzling over the Queen's exceeding popularity. She was neither clever nor well educated. She could not even spell properly. She had none of the wit of Charles II, nor the courtliness of her grandfather, Lord Clarendon, yet she was dearly beloved by the masses. She lived in a time of victory, and was essentially good-hearted, and always possessed the strong support of the Church of England. Queen Anne's Bounty still perpetuates the interest she took in the Established Church. The Sovereign's touch was still supposed to exercise healing power. Dr. Johnson was brought to London touched by "the Lady in Diamonds and the long black hood" for the king's evil.

The story of how the Marlboroughs and the whole Whig party fell from power turns upon a Court intrigue by Abigail Hill, bedchamber woman to the Queen, a post she had obtained through the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough, her relative. Abigail was not prepossessing. She had a large red nose, was very plain and had miserable health, but she had talent, and educated herself amidst the privations and miseries of her early life. While the Duchess of Marlborough lorded it over the Queen, and flounced into her

presence with her "Lord, madam, it must be so," Abigail silently undermined the influence of the Duchess. When she married Mr. Masham, a page of the Court, the Queen was present, but the wedding was kept very quiet.

Mr. Masham is described as being a soft, good-natured, insignificant man, always making low bows to everybody, and ready to stop to open the door. Mrs. Masham, as Anne dressed, handed her clothes to her, but maybe if a lady of higher rank was present she passed them to her to hand. In France the strictest etiquette prevailed. Princesses of the blood, in order of precedence, passed the Royal linen one to the other. It was observed that her most Christian Majesty was often shivering whilst her wardrobe was touring the room. The Duchess of Marlborough could not restrain her temper. On the way to St. Paul's Cathedral to celebrate the victory of Oudenarde, she told Her Majesty not to answer her back. On another occasion she barred the door, and told Anne "she should hear her out, that was the least favour she could do for having set the crown on her head and kept it there."

Mrs. Masham got into correspondence with her relative Harley, one of the Tory leaders, and as her influence grew it was seriously discussed by the Whigs whether her conduct was not a matter of Parliament. It was thought, however, it was beneath its dignity. The Whigs, however, were now on the decline. The exact relationship of Mr. Masham to Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, has never been discovered.

On November 5, 1709, Dr. Sacheverell preached in St. Paul's Cathedral before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen a sermon on the perils of false brethren in Church and State, a witty, daring, political, learned, satirical sermon, three hours long. The real enemies of the Church were wily Volpones, he said.

This and another sermon of his were brought before the House of Commons. Volpone was a famous character in one of Ben Jonson's plays often played before the Restoration and after, and Volpone the fox was a rich Venetian who was living a hypocritical life. Sydney Godolphin, the Lord Treasurer, whose only son was married to the Duke of Marlborough's daughter, had been nicknamed Volpone. The

allusion made him furious. No ordinary trial by jury would suffice for the libel. It infringed the privileges of Parliament. There must be an impeachment and State trial, and impeachment there was.

Popular feeling was now running highly in favour of the doctor. London was tired of the war and its cost, big and little things contributed. The citizen who was accustomed to take his children to Pall Mall to look at the oak sapling which Charles II had planted from an acorn of the oak in which he lay hid at Boscobel, found to his disgust it had been destroyed to make way for Marlborough House. It was said that the Marlboroughs had had enough out of the public purse—in 1709 nearly £100,000 a year represented a large sum. When the Queen drove through the streets of London she was saluted with cries of "God bless your Majesty. I hope your Majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell." His trial in Westminster Hall was the signal for riots in London and attacks upon conventicles, which showed the popular feeling against Dissenters and the Government.

At last the Tory party came into power, but the Duchess of Marlborough, Mistress of the Robes and Groom of the Stole, still clung to office. She refused to deliver up her keys, and kept the Tory party at bay. In this crisis the Duke was sent for, the only person who had any influence over her. In his gentle, pathetic voice he begged ten days to get the keys, but was allowed only three, and then the Duchess threw them at his hands.

In 1707 an event of capital importance took place, the Union of England and Scotland. We may note a decision of the Lords that there should be one Privy or Executive Council for the two kingdoms. On this point there had been a considerable division of opinion in Scotland. "Some of them moved there should neither be a distinct Government nor a Privy Council continued there, but that all should be brought under one administration as the several counties of England were. They said the sooner all were consolidated in all respects in one body the possibility of separating them or disuniting them would be the sooner extinguished." The arguments for and against, which are set out by Bishop Burnett, were apparently not sufficiently weighed when the

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Union of Great Britain and Ireland was effected in 1801. In the time of Henry VI, after the conquest of France, the division of the Privy Council led to disasters which ended in the loss of France. Separate Privy Councils, it was said, had generally proved mischievous.

The closing years of the reign saw Harley first Lord Oxford, and St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, and the Tory party in power. They had been excluded as their zeal for the French war cooled when Marlborough and Godolphin joined the Whigs. In 1710 Sunderland was dismissed, and Godolphin told to break his staff of office. The brilliant leader of the Tories, St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, was made a Secretary of State. The change of party was endorsed by public opinion. Dr. Sacheverell, on his way to a benefice in North Wales to which he had been appointed, was given a royal welcome. "As he passed through the counties, both going and coming, he was received and followed by such a number and entertained with such magnificence that our princes in their progresses had not been more run after than he was." On approaching Shrewsbury he was met by five thousand horsemen and saluted with most joyful acclamation.

The student of politics will perhaps notice nothing stranger than the swift change of opinion that followed the accession of the Tory party to power. The country wanted peace. When the Tory party negotiated it, it was thought so unfavourable that they were excluded from office for many long years. In the main this was due to the working of powerful commercial interests.

The Peace of Utrecht in 1713 is a landmark in the story of the British Empire. It was accompanied by a number of other treaties, the results of which may be summarized. France ceded St. Kitts, Hudson Bay and Newfoundland, but the cession of Hudson Bay and Newfoundland amounted to no more than a restoration, for Newfoundland had always been claimed as English in respect of early discoveries. The Hanoverian succession was guaranteed. It was further agreed that the Crowns of France and Spain should never be united under one head. The boundaries between Hudson Bay and the north portion of French-Canada were left to

be determined by Commissioners; but in accordance with the usual policy of Louis XIV these were not appointed and the question was left open. Questions of fishing rights on the banks of Newfoundland were also left unsettled. Spain ceded Gibraltar and Minorca. British trade hitherto had not been extensive on the Continent. The tariff of France was practically prohibitive. Trade with Spain was denied. Holland was a trade rival. Important concessions, however, had been recently obtained from Russia for a trade in tobacco; little business was done with Sweden; the trade with Germany was mainly catered for by Holland. The Portuguese connection therefore was of the utmost importance. Apart from the Dutch and the Portuguese trades, British commerce lay directly overseas with the American plantations, with the East Indies in the Levant and along the African coast.

The Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with France was bitterly assailed by the mercantile classes. Two proposed clauses, the 8th and 9th, were rejected by the House of Commons. So furious were the principal English merchants that they published a weekly newspaper called *Commerce Preserved*, and the Government was obliged to defend itself in the pages of a paper called *Mercator*, conducted by Daniel Defoe. By these clauses France had been placed in trade matters on an equal footing with Portugal and other Allies of England during the war. The ninth article of the clause struck directly at the roots of the Portuguese trade, as it put France under the old tariff of 1664 by which French wines and brandies would have supplanted the wines, fruits and oils of Portugal. It was urged the treaty was one-sided; our imports from France, if the clauses were rectified, would be about a million, seven hundred thousand pounds, our exports two hundred and seventy thousand. Since France declined to take English goods, English ships would practically be empty when they sailed to French ports. Portugal was not only a large consumer of British goods, but she made up her balance of trade by exporting great quantities of gold and silver. The real root of trouble was the higher condition of living existing in England as compared with France. The English were well fed. Not so the French. Wages and the cost of production were extremely low in

France. The import of French goods into England meant displacement of labour, especially amongst the thousands engaged in the silk industry. It also meant the ruin of the Portugal trade. The Treaty of Commerce had been negotiated by the Board of Trade. Great were the rejoicings when clauses 8 and 9 were rejected.

The twelfth article of the Commercial Treaty between England and Spain conferred upon an English company to be appointed for that purpose (the South Sea Company) the sole and exclusive contract for introducing negro slaves to portions of Spanish America, at a rate of 4,800 yearly for a period of thirty years. The conditions were precisely similar to those which had been enjoyed by a French company. As there was some doubt as to whether the contract would prove lucrative, it was provided that a British trading vessel of 500 tons should be permitted to visit the Spanish dominions once a year. Subject to this exception all British trade with Spanish America was totally prohibited.

In considering the reign we may note the unquestioned military supremacy of England on the Continent under the Duke of Marlborough, one of the, if not the, greatest English generals who ever lived. Some of the events of the closing days of the reign are clouded in mystery. The Jacobites were taken by surprise by Anne's death. On November 15, 1712, they had lost their strongest leader—the Duke of Hamilton, who fell in a duel in Hyde Park with Lord Mohun, a duel which was fought close to the rushes that grew by the banks of the Serpentine. The supporters of the Hanoverian succession were better prepared for the event. The reign was a time of the bitterest political faction. Literary men like Addison and Defoe were employed in reviling or defending ministers. Anne was extremely charitable. In her last days she often talked of Queen Elizabeth, adopting her motto of *Semper eadem*. Her personal appearance considerably altered as she grew older. She grew stout and unwieldy. In the early days of her reign she used to amuse herself by chasing the stag in Windsor Park, in a fast driving chaise. She was greatly attached to her husband Prince George. It was to a cottage in Windsor Park of which she was so fond she took him during the illness which preceded his death.

Anne was attentive to public business, and, like Charles II, often used to listen to debates in the House of Commons. But her Council upset her; discussions there were conducted with much acrimony between Harley and St. John, so that Harley was nicknamed the dragon, and the seat of Government the cockpit. The reign is important, for it was a literary age, but it was accompanied, however, by a brutal spirit and the grossest materialism. Throughout English history we always turn to philosophers, poets and historians. Their number was great in Anne's reign. Through the streets of London walked the cynical Dean Swift, gay poet and dramatist; Addison, whom everybody loved; Steele, Tickell, Daniel Defoe and Pope; Sir Isaac Newton, whom Anne knighted, and Sir Hans Sloane. Poetry found its home at Will's coffee-house, learning at the Grecian, foreign and domestic affairs at St. James's coffee-house. Most of the men whose names are mentioned lived in Georgian times. The age, however, was a prosaic age, without the imagination of Elizabethan times or the cultured and humaner feelings of the Victorian period. England sank low in the scale of humanity after the war with France, but lower still in the reign of George I.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LONDON OF QUEEN ANNE

LET us look at a picture of England in 1683, the year Queen Anne was married. More particularly our glance will roam over London, which had been rebuilt after the Fire of 1666, which followed almost immediately the Great Plague. The houses projected over the streets, each higher storey jutting out a little more than the lower one. Clerkenwell and Spitalfields had been for some time built over. Capital board and lodgings could be had in St. John Street, Clerkenwell, vulgarly called St. Jones, for six shillings a week; country lodgings were obtainable at Hammersmith; citizens went for a change of air to Kensington. In the North of England lodgings were far cheaper even; for £6 one could obtain lodgings in Manchester for a whole year. London was no safe place; highwaymen lurked on such outskirts as Putney, Hounslow Heath, Kensington Gardens and Finchley. Fifty pounds was paid for the capture of a highwayman, and his horse was also given to the thief-taker. Gambling was rife in the coffee and gaming houses; several were in Covent Garden. At Prince's coffee-house not many years later Colonel Fielding, the father of Henry Fielding the novelist, lost £500 to a reputed Captain Midford over a game of faro. Notwithstanding the punishment of hanging for larceny, and burning alive for coining, the jails were full and were breeders of crime. "More thieves and rogues were made in Newgate than by all the clubs and societies of villains in the nation." Most criminals died game, but not all criminals convicted were executed; many were fortunate enough, by influence or by the use of money, or maybe because they had turned King's evidence, to receive only branding in their hands and transportation to the plantations. Thousands were carried across the sea to Virginia and the Bermudas, where labour was greatly needed. Thousands of honest folk, however,

left England of their own free will, with their furniture, bedding and £300 or £400 to start life afresh in the plantations. On the long and tedious voyage they amused themselves with such games as "Hob," "Spie the Market," "Shove the Slipper," and "Dilly Dally." Sometimes the ships would be boarded and plundered by pirates, and likely men removed to recruit the pirate ranks. Buccaneers then lurked amongst the West India Islands round the coast of Florida, and swept the trade routes. On unfrequented islands, in coves, the entrances to which were only known to themselves, where the thick foliage of the trees and sheltering rocks hid their masts from view, they careened their boats and caroused in drunken orgies. Some vessels were half pirate and half slaver. Others constantly carried across from the African shores the human freight for which they found a ready market in America. Those of the transported men and others who were willing to sell themselves were carried to Virginia. The planters bought the convicts for sale as servants, and employed them till their term ran out. They worked in the fields till they became free, usually a certain number of acres that were allotted to them in which they grew corn and tobacco. The merchants provided tools and necessaries on security of their crops before they grew. Many a Newgate man afterwards became a great man in the plantations. A number of French Protestants were sent out by William III; Queen Anne also sent a large number of Swabians from the Palatinate to the banks of the Hudson River, who afterwards settled in Pennsylvania. The New World was also recruited from many of the best families in England—it needs but a reminder to recall that the ancestor of George Washington left Northamptonshire in Cromwell's days.

During the summer fashionable London thronged to Bath, Epsom and Tunbridge Wells to drink the waters, to gossip, scandalize and play cards. The impecunious gallant, scheming to "bluff" some rich heiress into matrimony, found in any of these resorts a fruitful field. The habits of London were aped in provincial circles—young ladies received their French music and dancing masters in their houses and learned to play the harpsichord or spinet.

London, as now, was a city of jostling crowds. In the

streets were sturdy pavours and numerous shoeblacks. Oyster damsels, barbers with aprons, little chimney sweeps, chandlers with baskets on their heads, butchers with greasy trays. Stage coaches were compelled to move slowly down the thoroughfares. Men were dressed in Witney broadcloth with shag unshorn, and over all was worn the roquelaure, a cloak reaching to the knee. Most men carried a strong cane, those of the *beau monde* had canes amber-tipped. Women wore long trailing mantuas. Proud ladies have had their feet bound in braided gold and wear gold clocked stockings, preferring to ride in chariots or sedan chairs. When they walked they moved with narrow steps, affecting a limping gait. On a wet day London was anything but agreeable. A man put on his worst wig and his surtout or overcoat, or maybe his kersey coat, and the housewife would don her riding hood. An umbrella was kept at a coffee-house for the use on special occasions by gentlemen, though still regarded as effeminate. In *The Female Tatler*, December 12, 1709, occurs the following: "The young gentleman belonging to the Custom House who, in the fear of rain, borrowed the Umbrella at Will's coffee-house in Cornhill, of the Mistress, is hereby advertised that to be dry from head to foot on the like occasion, he shall be welcome to the maid's pattens."

Or, underneath th' umbrella's oily shed
Safe through the wet on clinking pattens tread.

—*Trivia; or the Art of Walking the Streets of London.*—

Gay, *Bk. i*, 211.

Gossiping Mr. Pepys in his Diary mentions the pattens. "My wife on the way, being exceedingly troubled with a pair of new pattens, and I vexed to go slow." A great feature of the times was the struggle as to who should get closest to the wall. The right to the wall led to many quarrels. Gay tells us to be sure to yield the wall to the hooded maid, the old man and the porter bending under his load, but not to the bully who cocks his brade hat with tarnished lace. When it rained, owing to the spouts of the houses projecting over the street, you might be suddenly deluged with a torrent. To the comfort of all, these projecting spouts were later put an

end to by Act of Parliament. In the streets jugglers and three-thimble men plied a busy trade, and you might come across a muzzled bear and a bull, the pride of Hockley Hole, or run into a hot game of football played in the thoroughfares.

In St. Giles stood an unrailed column with seven dials which counted the day to seven streets. In the maze of narrow streets you could easily get lost; you might look seven ways and fail to recognize where they led to. In Thames Street, which stretched from the Fleet Ditch to the Tower, you would come across chandlers boiling their cauldrons. There you would find hogsheads of train-oil, the smell of Cheshire cheese intermingled with other unsavoury smells. Fish was very plentiful: carp, salmon, lobster, sole and scallops. Mackerel was cried through the streets even on Sundays. Saturday was general cleaning-up day: a day you would be well advised to avoid houses with balconies unless you risked a drenching. In the public squares the beggars ranged themselves next to the rails crying doleful dirges for a halfpenny, but they would move right off for twopence. By some houses, whose knockers were muffled in flannel denoting sickness, you might see an upholder—the vulture—waiting for a funeral order. In Burlington House you could step in and hear Handel play. Advertising was well known. A friendly bill would be pushed into your hand, giving you the address of a doctor or a cheap tailor.

Newgate market supplied the best mutton; Leadenhall, beef; St. James's, veal. Thames Street was the place for cheese, Covent Garden for fruits, and Moorfields for old books; in Monmouth Street you would find old clothes; by the Fleet Ditch stood the oyster tubs, where you could regale yourself on oysters from Wallfleet sands.

Night in London was not very pleasant. A man's silver-hilted sword would disappear, and even the wig vanish off his head, probably seized by some sly boy borne in a basket on a man's shoulder. Suddenly you might miss your watch or your snuff-box. Punishment, however, rapidly followed the detection of the lurcher or pickpocket. Pump-water would be turned on him; if a pond were handy he would be

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dropped in. There were a number of turnstiles and posts in the streets. Lincoln's Inn, then railed round, was a home of beggars by day and thieves by night.

That crutch, which late compassion moved, shall wound
Thy bleeding head and fell thee to the ground.

—*Trivia; or the Art of Walking the Streets of London.*—

Gay, *Bk.* iii. 137.

The streets were dimly lit with oil, hence it was often useful to follow a trail of torches accompanying a lady of wealth. A drunken man could usually find a friendly watchman to guide him home for sixpence. If the watchman was obdurate and took him into custody, the constable was not inaccessible to the rhetoric of a silver fee. Nickers and Mohocks played night pranks. Society amused itself with ombre, quadrille and hazard, fashionable card games. The Queen was fond of basset.

There were many other sides of London life. The old Tudor houses had by now disappeared from the Strand, and you could walk down Arundel, Essex, Bedford or Villiers Streets and find nothing but a pump or watch-house to mark the scene of former grandeur. As you wandered you might come across a sentry-box :

The thoughtless wits shall frequent forfeits pay
Who 'gainst the sentry's box discharge their tea.

—*Ib.* ii., 297.

If not careful you might fall down a steep cellar, overthrow a huckster's stall and upset nuts and pippins. Houses were unnumbered; signs, however, informed you of the nature of the business. The swinging pole with stockings streaming down would tell of the hosier; if you rose with early morn you would come across a fish woman conveying fish from Billingsgate, or see the milk-woman chalk on the door her score, or note the bray of asses waiting outside some mansion to be milked. Milk for weakly beauties and effeminate beaux. Pope called Lord Hervey "that thin white curd of asses' milk." The beat of drums! a row of drummers stationed outside some house are greeting a newly-made bride. Presently a

hawker runs by with early news; as the day grows warmer you observe demure-looking Quakers wearing distinctive hoods, hackney coaches, ladies with hoops, and arrogant footmen. By the Mall fashion strolls watching the fawns. At Bartholomew Fair you may ramble among pedlars' stalls and buy long silken laces, pins, amber bracelets, combs, scissors and thimbles; if the fancy seizes you an investment might be made in a lottery for a silver spoon or gold ring; or again, peradventure, you might choose to visit "Jack Pudding." In his jacket party-coloured, he toffes his glove as he hands his packet, and will sing the ballad of the "Children of the Wood" or "Buxom Joan," the "Chevy Chase," or of "Taffy Welsh," "Sawney Scott," or "Lillibullero."

By the time of Queen Anne, although potatoes were freely eaten in Ireland, the English people had not taken to them; but beer was generally drunk, especially in the country, also cider and new cider mulled with ginger. The influence of Paris on London becomes very marked, particularly in fashions and pleasures. Paris was generally some years in advance of London. The ladies and gentlemen of both cities gambled with cards and dice; in Paris men wore feathers in their hats, danced minuets and attended masked balls. Some English ladies went to the theatre in masks, and all classes rambled over Tottenham or Chelsea meadows, or lazed under the leafy boughs of Greenwich trees or attended Hampstead balls. The French took their open air pleasures in the Tuileries, where fashion rolled by with rustling mantuas and embroidered vests. In both capitals the opera was popular; in Paris audiences joined in the chorus.

All sorts of new arts and trades had been recently introduced by French refugees. Beaver hats which had come through the French-Canadian trade in peltry; glass for windows, ornaments and wine-glasses. Hitherto coarse, even making bottles required improvement, and the leather bottle was still a favourite. Behind new glass windows of great houses you might see beautiful shining silver displayed, on the walls portraits by the painter Godfrey Kneller, at sixty guineas each. Strephon now writes to his Belinda on improved white paper; if he is a Whig politician or perhaps a mere time-server, he displays from his pocket a silver fusil

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or fusee. In William's reign he would show you a tiny warming-pan. Gay writes to Swift :

In politics I know 'tis wrong
A friendship may be kept too long,
And what they call the prudent part
Is to wear interest next the heart,
As the times take a different face
Old friendships should to new give place.

—*Fable X., The Degenerate Bees.*—Gay.

We drink with the Whigs at the Kit-Cat Club in Champagne, Burgundy, Florence, Chianti, Lisbon, Bordeaux or Alicant wine. The club included the most distinguished of the party; they met at the tavern of Mr. Christopher Cat, pastry-cook of King Street, Westminster, hence the name. Their portraits, painted for the secretary, Mr. Jacob Jonson, by the celebrated Sir Godfrey Kneller, have immortalized it.

London life moved leisurely along, dilly-dallying with intrigue and pleasure, shilly-shallying with politics amidst the jingle-jangle of faction through wishy-washy streets of bribery and corruption from the highest to the lowest. Those were years of rollicking recklessness, intellectually brightened by the scintillations of the circle of wits who revolved about Pope and Swift, Henry Fielding, Horace Walpole, and the *Spectator*; masquerades and fancy balls :

Oh ! a fancy Ball 's a strange affair,
Made up of Silks and Leathers,
Light heads, light heels, false hearts, false hair,
Pins, paint, and ostrich feathers :
The dullest Duke in all the Town
To-day, may shine a droll one ;
And Rakes who have not half-a-crown,
Look royal in a whole one !

—*The Fancy Ball.*—W. M. Praed.

CHAPTER XIX

THE MONOPOLY TRADE (1714—1763)

THE period from 1714 to 1763 extends from shortly after the Peace of Utrecht to the Treaty of Paris, and comprises a period of the growth of the Empire in North America and India. The struggle between Great Britain and France had only temporarily ended at Utrecht, but after 1763 it was no longer a struggle between the two countries for colonial and Indian Empire—Great Britain had emerged victorious.

George Lewis, Elector of Hanover, ascended the Throne on August 1, 1714, in accordance with the Act of Succession, which ensured a Protestant Dynasty. When the Act was passed it was determined that none but a Protestant should succeed to the Crown. An inquiry was made as to the religion of the forty descendants of James I then living. It was found that the only Protestant was the Electress Sophia, whom, in 1658, Ernest Augustus, Bishop of Osnabruck, had married; she died fifty-three days before Queen Anne. Sophia was the youngest daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I. George I, therefore, by his mother, traced his descent through Mary Queen of Scots, the Tudors and the long line of English kings.

The succession of George I was the triumph of the Revolution of 1688. It placed the Whigs in power, but his succession was far from meeting with general acceptance. The claims of the Stuarts were constantly urged. Louis XIV espoused the cause of James, the old Pretender, son of James II, and rebellions broke out in the North of England and Scotland. The old Pretender landed in Scotland, and rebellion was soon suppressed. The death of Louis XIV in 1715 deprived James of open French support.

For carrying on the commercial policy of the country the Board of Trade was now responsible, and the measures taken to subject the colonies to the British system ultimately led to

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the separation between Great Britain and the United States. The system of monopoly trade strictly protected all British industries. It forbade the export of machinery, and even the emigration of skilled labour to the Continent. By the aid of the Navigation Acts and exercises of Royal authority, it secured the primary products of the plantations and generally restricted their trade by confining their export of raw materials to Great Britain and prohibiting their manufactures. In return, the British Government nursed and defended the plantations, allowing them to develop in peace. The Board of Trade, however, as already explained, was not an independent body, it was particularly subject to the jealousy of Parliament and the commercial classes. Its expenditure was strictly limited. Out of a grant of £10,000 a year, £8,500 went to the members of the Board; the secretary received £500 a year, the deputy secretary £100, seven clerks shared £390, and three door-keepers and a necessary woman £130. Salaries were frequently in arrear, and gratuities were offered them by interested parties and accepted. In 1730 the clerks were forbidden to receive presents for ordinary services, but for extraordinary services presents were still permitted. Although the Royal power to veto Bills passed by Parliament was no longer exercised in Great Britain, Bills of colonial Assemblies were frequently rejected. At the time of the Declaration of Independence nearly 400 Bills had been vetoed. The Declaration laid the blame on the King and Council. They, however, generally acted on the instigation of the Board of Trade. The veto was most actively employed in Acts which related to commerce, and some instances may be given. Maryland and Virginia had passed Bills to establish ports and towns, and where they provided for a port they also provided for a town. The Board of Trade insisted that they should supply ports only, because the establishment of towns caused people to flock there who might be better employed in growing tobacco. Moreover, townspeople would desire to manufacture woollens, so the export of tobacco would gradually diminish and a reduction take place in the woollen goods required from England. The Assemblies frequently passed Bills to prohibit the emigration of convicts and indigent persons, but all Pennsylvanian laws of this description were vetoed. Vir-

ginia imposed a duty of £2 a head on imported slaves; as the duty laid a burden upon British merchants it was vetoed, because it would increase the value of slaves and make it impossible for poor planters to purchase them, so the settlement of the colony would be delayed and the growth of tobacco not increased at the rate it should be. By various Acts of Virginia slaves were made real estate, and attached to the plantations. They were thereby assured better treatment than if they were treated as personal chattels. The Board approved this policy, which they declared was beneficial.

The system of chartered colonies was attacked by the Board and endeavours made to substitute Royal government. The chartered colonies were so free by their charters that their proprietors were even at liberty by law to dispose of them to a foreign power. In the Royal governments the Governors and judges were chosen by the Crown. The attempt to introduce Royal government led to considerable friction between the Board and the colonial Assemblies, which declined to provide permanent funds for the payment of Governors. They did not object to pay, but they did object to a permanent Civil List. Accordingly, they voted money for their Governors' salaries for limited periods, and, although frequently pressed, none but Jamaica provided a permanent fund. The Governors therefore became dependent upon the votes of colonial Assemblies for their salaries. The Assembly also declined to vote salaries for their judges, arguing that their appointment should be during pleasure. The Board, however, was strong enough to insist upon appointments being made during good behaviour, which rendered the judges independent. In these struggles between the Board and the popular Assemblies may be seen a repetition on a smaller scale of the great struggles that had taken place between the Executive and the Legislative body in England. In England they caused the Civil War. In America they contributed to cause ill feeling between Great Britain and America. In the early part of the nineteenth century history again repeated itself, for similar quarrels broke out in Canada and Australia, which ultimately led to the grant of responsible government. The members of the American Assembly were descendants of men who had taken part in similar

struggles in England, and they conceived that in resisting the Board of Trade they were acting as their English ancestors had done. Furbishing up old precedents, they applied them to their own situation, and the history of England was again reproduced in her colonies. The attempt to establish Royal government was to carry into effect mercantile policy, but it fatally entangled Constitutional questions with trade questions.

At one time, when the iron industry was growing rapidly in England, the Board suggested that Virginia should stop working her pig-iron, and, in return, Great Britain would purchase American timber and lumber. Timber was yearly becoming more in demand for shipbuilding and furniture. Many of the old forests of the south-east of England by now had been destroyed for fuel, or for smelting iron in Sussex. New York declared the Board's projects would ruin her shipbuilding industry, for how could she build ships without iron? She could not afford to buy every nail she wanted from England. Another measure enforced prohibited making hats.

The two great British exports were woollens and linens, woollens making up half. No objection was raised by the Americans to the wearing of English clothes. Governor Dudley informed the Board that they were proud to wear clothing made of the very best goods England could produce, and were determined to do so if sawing and shipbuilding could pay for it. In the time of George I prices were so high, owing to the attacks which had been made upon merchant vessels by French privateers during Queen Anne's war, that clothing became scarce. Some colonists took to sheep rearing, and then the people of Maryland commenced spinning and weaving their own clothes. After the war the New Englanders refused to abandon their cloth-making till it was satisfactorily demonstrated to them that they could earn money enough to buy two coats by making tar in the same time it took them to make one coat.

At the close of the war Great Britain and France were heavily in debt; both sought means of liquidating it by developing new colonies and trades. John Law, a Scotsman, an adept in algebra and arithmetic, and fond of gambling,

found his way to France, where his financial projects attracted the attention of the Duke of Orleans, then the Regent. Letters Patent were granted him to establish a bank in 1716. It proved successful by reason of issuing notes payable in currency on the standard weight of coin at the date of issue. As the value of the currency was constantly changing, the notes became very popular. He next induced the Duke of Orleans to grant him and his friends the territory of Louisiana, for the management of which he incorporated a company. Obtaining a monopoly of tobacco and the trading rights and the ships of the Senegal Company in 1718, he ultimately added the China, East India and African Companies to his system, and proposed to pay off the National Debt of France from the profits and become the sole national creditor. His early successes gave rise to a fever of speculation, which reached its height in 1720 when his system fell with a crash. From its ruins a new French East India Company rose.

In 1720 Dupleix was sent by the influence of his father, who was one of the directors of the French East India Company, to Pondicherry, about eighty miles south of Madras; Chandernagor, on the River Hooghly, higher up than Fort William, became a flourishing place. The French then possessed two islands in the Indian Sea, the Isle of Bourbon and Mauritius, or the Isle of France. French fleets soon traversed the seas, and French trade spread through India and China. The South Sea Company was started in the time of Queen Anne by Act (9 Anne, c. 15, 1710), with the intention of developing a new trade with America and the South Seas. In the reign of George I its capital was increased to £10,000,000, and in 1716 the company launched its first trading ship. Towards the end of 1719 the Government was anxious to get rid of some unredeemable annuities, which amounted to nearly £800,000, and the Bank of England and the South Sea Company competed for their purchase. The South Sea Company were successful, and two-thirds of the annuitants accepted their stock in lieu of that of the Government, and large subscriptions were obtained. A wild frenzy of speculation followed, and all sorts of bubble adventures were promoted. The scheme failed and reduced thousands

to misery. A committee of the House of Commons brought to light stories of infinite corruption. Both the South Sea bubble and the Mississippi scheme brought a great quantity of hoarded money into circulation. The foreign money brought into France is said to have greatly stimulated her home trade.

Colonization still continued and Georgia was founded. A dear friend of General James Edward Oglethorpe, Castell, had been unable to pay his debts. Clapped into a debtor's prison and lacking the money to pay the fees demanded by his jailers for the superior accommodation they offered, he was cast into a ward where smallpox raged. He caught the infection and died. Conditions in these prisons came up in the Commons, and a committee, with Oglethorpe for its chairman, appointed to inquire into their state. Some debtors appeared before the committee in fetters. Their chains were ordered to be struck off immediately. Secrets were then revealed of incredible jobberies and abominable cruelties. Oglethorpe suggested emigration as a solution for unemployment. A sum of £10,000 was voted by Parliament for this purpose, and a charter for a new colony granted, in which it was intended to plant mulberry trees and rear silkworms for the silk industry, and the new colony was to act as a bulwark against Spain. It was named after the King, Georgia.

Trade relations were now carried on between Great Britain and her colonies by Great Britain purchasing tobacco from Maryland and Virginia, rice from Carolina, and sugar from the West Indian Islands, the colonies in turn purchasing British manufactured goods; on the whole exchanges balanced. But New York, Pennsylvania and New England had little to exchange. New York took to shipbuilding; she secured a market for her tar, hemp and provisions by providing material for and victualling the navy, but the sale of these articles was not sufficient to provide her with the means of purchasing British goods. She therefore commenced to trade with the French, Dutch and Danish Islands instead of with Jamaica and Barbadoes. By insisting on payment in gold and silver for her foodstuffs she obtained the precious metals. Her best fish she sold on the Continent of Europe, accepting payment in bills of exchange which went to defray

the cost of her purchases in Great Britain. To prevent her from trading with the foreign islands an Act was passed which imposed duties on the produce of the foreign sugar colonies which entered North America, but this was strongly resented, and trade continued by smuggling, with the open connivance of the Custom House officers.

None of the American colonies possessed sufficient gold and silver supplies of their own, consequently they were obliged to resort to large issues of paper money for purposes of currency. Pennsylvania obtained some revenue by lending specie to her people. Massachusetts advanced paper money upon extraordinary emergencies to defray public expenses, and afterwards redeemed it at its depreciated value. The abundance of paper money banished gold and silver from the domestic transactions of America, and it was noticed that its depreciation led to an increase in the price of British goods.

The mines of South America were now the principal gold and silver mines of the world and the main sources of European supply. Adam Smith states that the produce of all other mines was insignificant in comparison; from the figures he gives, calculated on a yearly average from 1748 to 1753, it seems that the silver imported into Spain and Portugal and reckoned at 62s. per lb. troy, amounted to over £3,400,000, and the gold to over £2,300,000 sterling. These figures did not account for the whole of the output of the mines; a great quantity of gold and silver was sent direct to Manila, and another portion found its way through the contraband trade to other nations of Europe, particularly to Great Britain and her colonies. By the Methuen Treaty a balance of gold and silver was usually paid yearly by Portugal to clear her indebtedness for British goods. The American colonies now required gold and silver, as did Great Britain also for export to India. Ever since the American mines had been discovered a stream of silver had flowed into India; the mines which supplied her with precious metals were a good deal less abundant than the mines which supplied her with precious stones. As labour was cheap in India by reason of the bulk of the population living on rice, it was advantageous to import Indian fabrics and precious stones and export English goods

and silver, silver having a higher purchasing value in India than in Europe.

By the Treaty of Utrecht Great Britain had acquired the concession to carry the African slaves to Spanish-America, and the right to send one trading ship a year; with this exception, Spain prohibited all trade with Great Britain. To protect herself against the foreign trader Custom House boats patrolled the American islands and coasts. Two wars, now almost forgotten, had been waged with Spain: one which ended in 1721, and the other in 1729. A new war broke out with Spain in 1739. On a night of April, 1731, whilst off the coast of Havana but on the high seas, Robert Jenkins, who commanded the barque *Rebecca*, was captured by the captain of a Spanish Guarda Costa, all property of value belonging to him taken away, and his ear cut off. When he reached London he had an audience with the King, and seven years afterwards he was examined by a committee of the House of Commons, to whom he exhibited something which he said was a portion of his ear. "What were your feelings," was asked by a member of the committee, "when you found yourself in the hands of such barbarians?" "I committed my soul to God and my cause to the country." The story Jenkins told throughout the kingdom violently inflamed popular passions against the Spanish, and led to the conflict which merged in the European war of the Austrian succession, and did not end till the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. By this treaty were settled some questions not disposed of by the Treaty of Utrecht. France in 1714 had relinquished all claims to the Hudson Bay territory, but the boundary line between it and Quebec had never been defined, and although the treaty had provided that Commissioners should define it, they were never appointed.

Cape Breton, which had been taken by the New Englanders, was restored to France, and in 1749 the French re-entered Louisburg. From the great haven of Chebucto on the Atlantic coast of the Nova Scotian peninsula attacks had been launched during the war which had threatened the very existence of the New England coast towns. Therefore in the same year, on the suggestion of the colonists, Halifax was founded, the intention being to make it an American Gibralt-

tar. By 1752 it contained 4,000 inhabitants. It was named after the Earl of Halifax, President of the Board of Trade.

The period following the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was but a brief interlude in the war drama. Before the Seven Years' War broke out in 1756 French and English were warring in America. In 1753 George Washington rode to Williamsburg to inquire why French forces were invading American territory, but obtained no satisfactory reply. The next year Commissioners from all the colonies assembled in Congress to concert common measures for defence. Up till now they had possessed no sense of corporate unity, and during the former war the New Englanders had alone borne the brunt of fighting. The progress of the French in the direction of Louisiana alarmed the Virginians. In 1716 the French penetrated to Ohio. In 1718 New Orleans was founded by de Bienville, a French-Canadian, and made the capital of Louisiana by John Law and his friends; in the spring of that year 800 persons sailed from France to Louisiana. Law then had an estate of four square leagues in Arkansas conferred upon him which was to be a duchy, and his 1,500 German and Provençal settlers his vassals. He also launched the Mississippi scheme, very closely following the lines of the South Sea Bubble, and coming to the same unhappy end. In 1753 the French had occupied the River valley of the Ohio. In 1757 the Marquis de Montcalm, Governor-General of Canada, was secretly corresponding with some disaffected colonists in New York, and from this correspondence may be gathered a vivid picture of the freedom enjoyed by the Americans. "When a law is sent to us from England," wrote one correspondent, "our Governors are obliged to communicate its contents to the different members of our provincial assemblies, who make them known to the public; on the day fixed for receiving it, the sessions are held in the court-houses, but before anything is determined the substance of the debates is reported to the people assembled in a spacious place, and their acclamation or clamour finally decides the fate of the law. Before this day of decision in which public affairs are brought to a crisis a thousand private meetings are held among particular individuals in which the public interest is properly discussed

with patriotic impartiality; these particular assemblies give the word, put the whole in motion and inspire the inhabitants with proper sentiments; they raise the cry of approbation or dissent as may be necessary on the occasion, and the assembly and Government are obliged to act agreeably to the voice of the people. Never do these people assemble in greater numbers than when they have reason to think the public good is in danger; it is not likely that the provincial assembly would dare to take a part against the general interest in view when 40,000 or 50,000 men are ready to contradict." Another correspondent wrote: "The price of commodities brought us from England begins to be offensive in the eyes of the multitude, who even in the midst of a war cry out loudly for procuring them from some other quarter. If I am not very much mistaken our colonies in less than ten years will catch fire on this occasion. Indeed, there are hardly any means of preventing it since labour is such an exorbitant rate in England; a necessary event in a country which has enriched itself considerably by commerce; and hence follows the consequent rise of manufactures."

The Marquis de Montcalm muses: "Canada is our own and in our possession. Will it always remain so? Appearances say yes, but appearances often impose on and deceive us." . . . "The English colonists are more political than England, who cherished them in her bosom, not a citadel or fortification in their cities, all is open." . . . "As to the English colonies, there is one essential point to be considered, they have never yet been taxed. I have certain assurances that the English colonies would take fire and the flame spread everywhere, which if thoroughly fed would embarrass England to extinguish it." On August 24, 1759, he wrote from the camp before Quebec: "For more than three months has Mr. Wolfe been hanging on my hands; he ceases not night or day to bombard Quebec with a fury of which an example can hardly be produced in any siege of any place which the enemy wished to take and preserve." . . . "The taking of Quebec depends on one masterly stroke. The English are masters of the river, they have only to effect a landing in that part where the city is situated unfortified and defenceless. They are in the condition to give us battle, which I must not

refuse, and which I cannot hope to gain . . . but of one thing be certain, that I probably shall not survive the loss of the colony; there are situations in which it only remains to a general to fall with honour. Such this appears to me; on this head posterity shall not reproach my memory though fortune may decide upon my life. She shall not decide upon my opinions, they are truly French and shall be so even in the grave, if in the grave we are anything. . . . It is to force and necessity only that men obey; that is when they see armies before their eyes always ready and sufficient to control them, or when the chains of necessity remind them of the law. Beyond this they submit to no yoke, they act for themselves; they live free because nothing internal or external obliges them to throw off that liberty which is the most lovely ornament and the most valuable prerogative of human nature. Search mankind and upon this principle the English, whether from education or sentiment, are more men than others; this kind of constraint displeases them more than any other. They must breathe a free and unconfined air, otherwise they would be out of their element. . . . If England, after having conquered Canada, knew how to attach it to her by policy and kindness and to reserve it to herself alone, if she left them their religion, laws and language, their customs and ancient form of government, Canada separated in every respect from the other colonies would always form a distinct country which would never enter into their views and interests were it only for principles of religion."

In the well-known and memorable struggle which made Canada British, General Wolfe rowed up the St. Lawrence river by night, stormed the heights of Abraham, but died in the lap of victory. The nobility and death of his gallant antagonist, who fell as he anticipated, will be for ever immortalized in the Saga of the British Empire.

By the Peace of Paris, 1763, Canada, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, and all territory east of the Mississippi were surrendered by France to Great Britain. Louisiana west of the Mississippi and New Orleans was ceded by France to Spain also in 1763. As by the peace Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain, the eastern portion of North America became a part of the British dominions.

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In India the present site of Calcutta was acquired in 1686, Fort William built in 1698, and some territory added in the period 1757 to 1765. Fort St. George was built in 1641 on the site now occupied by Madras. Bombay was obtained in 1662, and granted to the East India Company in 1668. These places were the old trading stations of the East India Company. In 1746 Madras was taken by the French, but was restored by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The story of the struggle between the French and English in India began with the French administration of Dupleix. In 1741 Dupleix married Jeanne de Castro, a beautiful Creole with Portuguese blood in her veins. As she was familiar with nearly all the numerous dialects of India, when he was appointed in 1742 Governor-General of the French establishments in India, she became his official secretary. The Tartar Empire, which was founded upon the ruins of the Confederation of the Afghans, was crumbling to pieces, and independent principalities were everywhere being formed by adventurers who seized the reins of power. The French Company was founded for purposes of trade and not for conquest, nevertheless Dupleix seized the opportunity afforded by this state of affairs to organize a force from the fighting tribes of India and join in alliances with these adventurers.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle did not stop his ambitious schemes. By intervening on behalf of the Sultan of Deccan he obtained the Carnatic. The successor to the Sultan, nominated by his influence, presented him with five provinces, which enabled him to control 30,000,000 men and put him in possession of 200 leagues of coast, with Muslipatam, the seat of the muslin trade. The Grand Mogul became his dependent, and the French Company practically controlled India. Bengal at this time was governed by a Viceroy who had become virtually independent of the Grand Mogul. On the Viceroy's death in 1756 his grandson, Surajah Dowlah, an effeminate youth under twenty years of age, succeeded him. Fired with visions of conquest, he marched against Fort William with a large army and captured it. Placing his British prisoners to the number of 147 in a dungeon twenty feet square, they suffered the agonies of suffocation in the heat of a sweltering

Indian night. When the door of the Black-hole was opened next morning a terrible sight presented itself; from among the corpses only twenty-three survivors were dragged into the light of day.

In 1757 Clive, avenger of this cruelty, recaptured Fort William, and afterwards defeated Surajah Dowlah's army at Plassy. By 1760 the defeat of Lally Tollendal by Sir Eyre Coote at Wandewash had secured the Carnatic for the English East India Company.

At the peace (1763) Pondicherry was restored to France, but French hopes of an Indian Empire were a vanished dream. The genius of Clive had converted a peaceful association of traders into the rulers of an Empire.

The current of national life rolled sluggishly on during the reign of George I and George II till the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. During the long administration of Walpole the Whigs drank the intoxicating cup of political power to the very dregs; the Tories were divided into two sections, one favouring the Jacobites, the other accepting the Hanoverian succession. The Whigs consisted of great territorial magnates, the bishops and commercial classes; the Tories of fox-hunting squires, farmers, and the poorer clergy. Parliament was corrupt; like a canker corruption corroded the whole community. Even in the country house when a visitor left, the obsequious servants stood in a row waiting for vails and seldom looking at anything less than a guinea. Drunkenness increased; although brandy was manufactured in Great Britain the main supplies were drawn from France. Rum from sugar was popular, and anyone was at liberty to distil spirits from malted corn or other material. Gin, for some time well known in Holland, was sold from Geneva shops, which sprang up in London like poisonous fungi. In 1736 the famous notice was put up in Southwark, "Drunk for a penny, dead drunk for twopence with clean straw." The excessive drinking led to the placing of a duty on compound spirits, and retailers were licensed. As the Act imposing the duty applied only to compound spirits, a new cheap spirit was invented.

Fashionable London frequented *ridottos*, attended plays, enjoyed balls and card parties, and went to the races. Bread

was cheap, for up to 1764 England was a grain-exporting country. Social conditions were very bad; life in the Royal Navy, for the ordinary sailor, was brutal and revolting; prisoners were manacled in jails; offenders with money were at liberty to pay for light chains—the heavier the bribe the lighter the chain. The Parish system and the Laws of settlement were sources of very great hardship as they prevented migration, but poor people would migrate in search of work, and “settle themselves in parishes where the best stock was provided for them to work on, the largest commons or wastes on which to build their cottages and the most wood to burn for fuel.” When the woods were consumed the people removed. If the poor unemployed refused work they were sent to a House of Correction, “arrayed in convenient apparel for such bodies and kept strictly on diet as on work.” The parish was much concerned with people who drifted into it and came on to the rates, so any new-comer who took a house in the parish under the value of £10 was taken before a justice to give security to pay the rent. If he could not do this he was sent back to the parish whence he came. As some justices were charitable and took it upon themselves to relieve the poor instead of leaving it to the overseers, the parish money was liable to be misapplied. So it was enacted that the regular poor should be put upon a collection and wear a badge with a large Roman “P” on the uppermost garment of the right shoulder, with the first letter of the name of the parish they belonged to cut out in red or blue cloth. The great struggle continued between the parishes to prevent a new-comer obtaining a settlement in it and becoming chargeable to the rates. He would sometimes be given £10 to take a house in another parish and pay the first year’s rent in advance. The woman with an illegitimate child, or a widow, was given a portion to wed some man who was prepared to marry her for a small dower provided he lived in another parish. A youth would be apprenticed to a stern master outside the parish, ready to cow him if he complained of lack of maintenance. So there should be no room for the poor, cottages were pulled down and parishes depopulated. A pauper who showed commercial instincts would be started in business with a box of pins, needles, laces and buckles, and so got rid of; with his

profits and a moderate knack of stealing it was reckoned he would be able decently to support himself.

Meanwhile, owners of personal property evinced the strongest objections to contribute to the support of the poor; ultimately they escaped contribution and the burden fell on lands and houses. The rates were added to the rents, whereby the cost of dwelling in London and other great towns became higher.

In the time of George II Mr. Hanway, a member of Parliament, wanted to know what became of the parish children. He discovered that during fourteen years one parish had not preserved a single child alive. "I received the accounts of another," he said, "which acknowledged that out of fifty-three, being the whole number received in five years, not one was kept alive. Within the bills of mortality, one-half of the people born died within two years, and in the country thirteen out of one hundred died."

From this grim picture of neglect, brutality and corruption we may turn to the new spirit which was then beginning to move over the waters of English life, a spiritual reformation, a new Oxford movement which was started by John and Charles Wesley and Whitefield. John Wesley in early manhood worked amongst the poor, schoolchildren and prisoners in jails. He carried his missionary enterprise through America. In 1735 he was in Georgia. Whitefield, following in his footsteps, returned from America to provide money for erecting schools and homes for orphans. Lord Chesterfield speaks of his great power as a preacher. He relates that he heard him tell the story of a blind beggar on the verge of a precipice with such dramatic force, "that I bounded from my seat and exclaimed, 'Good God, he's gone.' " Wesleyan Methodism was a movement within the Church for the reform of the Church. The religious revival spread through the West of England, particularly through Cornwall, and struck deep root in the soil of America.

A new political party was evolving. Viscount Bolingbroke, the old leader of the Tory party, who had fled to France to avoid impeachment at the beginning of the reign of George I, returned to England, but with a qualified pardon by the terms of which he was unable to take his seat in the

House of Lords. A literary man himself, and the author of the "Patriot King," and many other works, he surrounded himself with the literary men of the age : Swift, Pope, Gay, Thomson, and many others. He aimed at forming a national or patriot party made up of the new Whigs, of whom William Pitt, the great Earl Chatham, was one, and the Tories. The Heir Apparent, Frederick, Prince of Wales, was to be a coming patriot King. In 1740 the party broke up. Two great songs now entered English life—"Rule Britannia," the words of which were written by the poet Thomson for the masque of King Alfred, first performed at Cliveden, near Maidenhead, before the Prince of Wales. Bolingbroke himself is said to have added some stanzas. Although it was not published till 1742, the great Whig song, "God Save the King," was introduced, with the political lines :

Confound their politics,
Frustrate their knavish tricks,
On him our hopes we fix,
God save the King.

In 1745, when Prince Charles Edward, the young Pretender, marched on London, "God Save our King" was sung in the theatres, acquiring the new significance which it has since retained as the National Anthem.

The Seven Years' War began badly, and the Whigs were alarmed. Public opinion suddenly showed itself strong enough to insist upon the summoning of a real national leader to power. The hour of Pitt arrived; at his trumpet-call the forces of victory came. "I am sure," said Pitt, with sublime confidence in himself, "that I can save this country and that nobody else can." Pitt's Government was a Coalition Government, for the assistance of the Whig aristocracy was still indispensable. The Coalition was brought into being in the octogenarian days of George II, when it was said "victory erected her altar between his aged knees."

On October 25, 1760, the war being still in progress, George II died, and his grandson, George III, became king. Pitt had been forced upon George II by the national will, but George told him that he had taught him to look outside the walls of Parliament for the real sources of in-

fluence. With the accession of George III a change of Government followed, and the Earl of Bute became Prime Minister. George III was still young and much under his mother's influence and the teachings of his tutors, and Pitt lost his popularity by accepting the title of the Earl of Chatham. An attempt was now made to govern the country by means of a party known as the King's Friends, but the Ministry of the Earl of Bute did not last long. Frightened by the storm of public anger he resigned. The recorded history of the period between 1760 and 1763 is extremely interesting, especially with reference to foreign policy and the war with Spain. When the Peace of Paris was concluded in February, 1763, the King declared that "England never signed such a peace before." Prosperity was now noticed to be fast growing. A better spirit was abroad; fostered by the influence of the young King, there was seen a desire for purity of administration.

CHAPTER XX

THE SEVERANCE OF THE OLD EMPIRE AND THE BIRTH OF THE NEW (1763—1782)

THE Empire between 1763 and 1782 was affected in many ways. The Royal banners were carried triumphantly through India, and peacefully planted in Australia. They were borne through the dust of wars with France, America, Spain and Holland.

George III had been brought up in the strictest seclusion by his mother. He was a national King, and in his first speech he informed the people that, born and educated in this country, he gloried in the name of Briton. His tastes were simple; his ideas conservative; with strong affections, he possessed strong prejudices; he was a loyal husband and a good father, and his example greatly influenced Society. At first he essayed to play the part of a patriot King, but unsuccessfully. As he grew older he learned that the nation would insist upon choosing its own leader. In the famous struggles between parties during the middle of his reign he gave whole-hearted support to William Pitt against the Whig magnates, an alliance of Crown and people, which proved successful. During his long reign he was visited by a number of misfortunes: loss of reason, deafness and blindness; at one time he wandered about Kew Gardens a sad, pathetic figure. In George III may be recognized the typical John Bull, eschewing French cookery and kickshaws, preferring English roast and boiled. In politics his influence was mainly directed to secure purer administration. Although pride prevented him from admitting the claims of the American colonists, he believed in the greatness of the Empire and favoured maritime adventure. His initiative led to the re-discovery of New Zealand and Australia. In 1764 Commodore Byron sailed the Pacific by the King's desire. A year later Wallis followed. In 1768, when the Royal Society

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memorialized the King in favour of an expedition to watch the transit of the planet Venus, he supported their request. On the return of Wallis with the news of the discovery of Otaheite, as Otaheite was deemed the most suitable spot for making astronomical observations, an expedition was sent there under the command of Captain Cook. Hitherto on maps of the seventeenth century the name "Australia" was conferred upon the land where now the cheerless Antarctic is marked. New Holland was the real Australia, an unexplored continent. Captain Cook, after performing this scientific mission, was directed to explore the coast of that land which Tasman in 1642 had touched but never landed upon—New Zealand, then unknown but by tradition. On October 6, 1769, on board the *Endeavour*, Captain Cook fell in with the eastern side of New Zealand, and explored the coast till March 31, 1770, passing through the channel which separated the two islands. Homeward bound at the beginning of a beautiful autumn, he sighted a new land he called New South Wales, from its fancied resemblance to the coast of South Wales. Landing at Botany Bay in search of fresh vegetables, he raised the British flag in Australia. Among his companions was Sir Joseph Banks, like himself a lover of discipline, devoted to duty. A Londoner by birth, a distinguished scientist with an intense love of botany, amid the strange fauna and flora of Australia Banks first beheld the kangaroo.

On June 12, 1771, when the *Endeavour* sailed into the Downs, it was known that Great Britain had added a new continent to her Empire.

During the reigns of George I and a portion of the reign of George II it has already been shown how bad were social conditions. Yet even then England was far in advance of other Continental nations, and gradually evolving to a better state of things. In the reign of George III her civilization rapidly improved. From the Monarch of the British Empire we may turn to the Monarch of Fleet Street, Dr. Johnson, whose arresting "Sir" and dogmatic opinions were reiterated through the London coffee-houses. The most loyal of subjects, he had an intense scorn of sophistical arguments, which, by his keen intellect, he was able to refute with an

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air of infallibility which generally routed his antagonists. When the American rebellion broke out, his views accorded with those of the King; the colonists were discontented children who did not know what was good for them. New currents of thought influenced the nation. Although the fear of Roman Catholicism was removed by its ceasing to be identified with Jesuitism, Great Britain remained firmly Protestant, but with a fanatical leaven among the masses, which was demonstrated when Lord George Gordon terrified London over Catholic emancipation. When the foreign danger ceased fear of internal strife from the Jacobites had vanished.

Whilst Methodism was steadily growing in the villages of England, new ideas wafted from across the Channel, firing the minds of the young aristocrats, permeating the middle classes, and finding expression in Parliament. These formed bases of the political policy known as Liberal. They originated in the teachings of French philosophers and physiocrats with whom Englishmen came into contact indirectly from perusal of their writings, and, directly, through the French salons. The salon dated from the time when Henrietta de Coligny, Comtesse de la Suze, received at the Hôtel de Rambouillet. Throughout the reigns of Louis XIV and XV a succession of brilliant and witty Frenchwomen brought literary and scientific France together by an unflinching charm and tact which smoothed the ruffled susceptibilities of genius and fascinated by a wealth of epigrams and smiles. Even under the dark shadow of a baneful autocracy French genius lit her candelabras to illuminate the dark paths of human progress. Many new ideas, suggesting free thought, broke vainly against the bulwarks of religion in Great Britain. The drawing-room, a somewhat clumsy imitation of the salon, always lacked the vivacity of its French original. Its presiding hostesses were generally more famous for learning than charm, and were dubbed blue stockings. Nevertheless, the drawing-room acquired a considerable vogue, the stray literary lion and the distinguished foreigner were snapped up by provincial hostesses; readers of Charles Dickens will recall the reception of Mr. Pickwick and his party by Mrs. Leo Hunter.

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After 1763 young noblemen and gentlemen with their tutors trooped to Paris to start the grand tour through France, Italy and Switzerland, which was then considered a part of a liberal education.

During the Seven Years' War (1756—1763) the first three proved disastrous to the carrying trade, but as the danger was better apprehended it was better provided against. Trade was carried on in larger fleets under regular convoys with great safety, freighting revived, and although the ships were fewer they were larger. After the war trade was one-fifth greater, so that British shipping by itself was unable to cope with it. The Newfoundland trade was very prosperous, although British exports were trifling, consisting of a little spirits, some provisions, fishing lines and hooks; the Newfoundland fleets were British-owned. They carried fish to Great Britain, but principally to the Continent. Its sale in foreign ports was the real measure of its value to Great Britain. Burke was astonished to find how small a part of the supply of the nation's consumption was contributed to by foreign nations. The Empire was nearly self-supporting. Prices were not high, wool was but half the price it had been thirty or forty years before; turnips, carrots and cabbages, vegetables never raised before except by the spade, were commonly raised by the plough and all garden stuff was cheaper, and England grew more apples and onions. In the seventeenth century she had imported them from Flanders. Adam Smith bears witness to the prevailing cheapness: "The great improvement in the course of manufacture of both linen and woollen cloth furnished the labourers with cheaper and better clothing, those in the manufacture of coarser metals with cheaper and better instruments of trade, as well as with many agreeable and convenient pieces of household furniture; the common complaint that luxury extends itself even to the lowest ranks of the people, and that the labouring poor will not be contented with the same food, clothes and lodging which satisfied them in former times, may convince us that it is not the money price of labour only but its real recompense which has augmented."

Raw material for boots and shoes was a great deal lower

in price than it had been previously, partly because hides were only allowed to be exported from the plantations into Great Britain. Bread showed little variation in price till the very close of the century; the weight of the quartern loaf was four pounds, five ounces, ten pennyweights, a big loaf contrasted with the four-pound quartern loaf of Victorian times. It never fetched more than $8\frac{1}{4}$ d. or sank lower than $5\frac{1}{4}$ d. till 1795, when during the war with France it jumped to $12\frac{1}{4}$ d., to fall next year to $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. In 1800 for five weeks it touched 1s. $10\frac{1}{2}$ d. In 1764 England suddenly became a grain importing country. The inclosure of commons was begun by Private Bill legislation in the reign of George II. At first two or three Inclosure Acts appeared yearly in the list of Private Acts; before the close of the reign they accounted for half the Private Bill legislation. During the reign of George III Public Inclosure Acts were passed. Although the interests of the villagers were in many cases absolutely neglected, public policy now required the development of arable land. The difficulty standing in the way was that whilst the ownership of commons was vested in the Lords of Manors, the villagers possessed rights of pasture for horses, cattle, sheep and poultry. Neither landlord nor villager could utilize the land to its full capacity. Inclosure Acts soon led to a diminishing supply of poultry and geese; "the common stolen from the goose." Sometimes, however, inclosures took place not by statute but by encroachments on the part of the commoners themselves. The poultry supply of the country began to be supplemented from Flanders. Best beef, prime cuts, were fourpence halfpenny a pound; inferior, twopence and less. Dr. Johnson at one time used to dine off a plate of meat in a refreshment house for which he paid sixpence and bread a penny, and he never forgot the penny for the waiter. Journeymen tailors now received half a crown a day, common labourers eighteenpence, a Newcastle collier working on piece-work about three shillings; in some parts of Scotland colliers earned as much as four and sixpence a day; the wages of coal heavers in London were from six to ten shillings a day. London workmen received twice as much as those of Edinburgh. Good shoemakers earned £40, yet many benefices, notwithstanding Queen Anne's Bounty,

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were still worth only £20 per annum; £40 was very good pay :

A man he was to all the country dear,
And passing rich with forty pounds a year.

—*Goldsmith : Des. Vill.*

Teachers and men of letters received starvation wages. Owing to the Poor Law system, as workmen could not circulate, striking inequalities in the scales of pay occurred all over England.

In the balance-sheet of the foreign trade of 1762, Germany, Holland, Ireland and Spain figured as England's largest customers. Germany purchased £2,272,272, Holland £1,910,240, Ireland £1,640,713, Spain £1,168,072, and East India £887,083. Four American colonies—New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia and New York—purchased over £1,336,664. Jamaica bought to the extent of £584,978. England imported from Germany £1,085,107, from Ireland £769,379, from East India £1,059,335, from Virginia and Maryland £642,294, from Jamaica £1,159,023, from New England £74,815, and from New York £53,988. The official figures which show imports and exports do not represent the real values of the exports, since the prices given were those of the time of William III; nor do they include the earnings of the mercantile marine, nor the considerable profits of the slave trade. In scanning trade balances over a long period they show favourable balances of trade of over £3,000,000 a year. The profits were probably very large. Ireland was still treated as a separate colony.

The territories ceded by France and Spain after the Seven Years War were divided into four provinces, Grenada, which consisted of the island of that name, and the smaller islands known as the Grenadines; the Floridas east and west, and Quebec. The Governors who were appointed were empowered to make large grants of land to generals, officers and soldiers, except in Quebec. In Quebec the British Government did exactly what the Marquis of Montcalm said it would not do. It left undisturbed the Roman Catholic religion, and effected no changes in the civil laws and customs

of the people. It further gave the greatest guarantee it could give that the people should exercise their religion unmolested, confirming this gift by Act of Parliament.

A necessary problem after a war is the raising of money, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Dashwood, was at his wits' end how to obtain it by new taxation. On March 10, 1764, proposals were made to lay duties on several articles of American commerce, which were ultimately abandoned, but a resolution for a stamp duty was unanimously agreed to, and an Act passed. Stamp duties had been advocated so far back as 1726 by Martin Bladen in his essay on the colonies, the proceeds of which were to form the basis of a permanent civil list. He was a member of Parliament, a close adherent of Walpole's, and a member of the Board of Trade for thirty years; known as "Trade," his colleagues were "the Board."

The proposal to tax America was viewed with the utmost alarm by Americans, who declared that such arbitrary proceedings were not in accordance with constitutional usage. The Pennsylvanian and other Assemblies pointed out that the ancient established and customary way was for the King in Council to discuss the occasion, next for the Secretary of State to write circular letters to the Governors to lay before their Assemblies and explain the necessity in the letters. Money grants were readily made so liberally that they exceeded the proportion, and Parliament had returned £200,000. The new policy was cruel and unjust; by their constitutions their business lay with the King. Perhaps he was not aware of it. When he would obtain anything from them he always accompanied his request with good words, but Grenville, instead of a decent demand, had sent a menace that they should certainly be taxed, and left them no choice in the matter. They would always feel it their duty to grant aid to the Crown in the proper constitutional manner. The Stamp Act, never enforced, was repealed by the Rockingham Ministry. On its repeal American ships in the Thames were beflagged, and the coffee-houses frequented by Americans in London were gaily decorated. Across the seas, meetings were everywhere held, and resolutions passed that the people would give their home-made clothes to the poor and buy good English

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clothes again. The idea of taxing the colonies was not finally dropped. There was only a lull, for a powerful opinion favoured it; Adam Smith considered it just, but questioned how America could be represented, for taxation without representation was not in accordance with the British system. Constitutional lawyers were dumb. Adam Smith favoured an Imperial Parliament, but argued against its practicability. How could colonial members be managed when such difficulty had been found in managing British members? Burke was humorous over the difficulties inseparable from long distances and sudden dissolutions. The great American, Benjamin Franklin, looked to a union under the Crown, but no practical plan was suggested.

About this period Wilkes was acquiring great popularity by his attacks upon the political influences surrounding the King. He had obtained a seat in the House of Commons, but was expelled for publishing an obscene parody of Pope's "Essay on Man." He fought a duel, stayed for a while on the Continent; but on his return he was chosen member for Middlesex. Once more expelled, he sought election and was returned. But a Government candidate, Colonel Luttrell, although polling but 296 votes to Wilkes's 1,143, was declared duly elected by the House of Commons. The great question arose whether the House of Commons could select a member against the wishes of a constituency. "Wilkes and liberty" became the popular cry. His popularity was unbounded. "Behold him," writes Burke, "rising still higher and coming down souse upon both Houses of Parliament." In 1774 the conflict ended by Wilkes taking his seat without opposition in the House, in the same year that he became Lord Mayor of London.

From the middle of 1767 to 1773 letters appeared in the *Public Advertiser* from a writer whose pen was dipped in the acrid ink of invective, mostly signed Junius; they were open letters attacking scandals such as the dismissal of Sir Geoffrey Amherst from his governorship of Virginia to make way for a ruined lord, a *protégé* of the Earl of Hillsborough. The letters had an extraordinary effect. The identity of Junius was cloaked, but one fact is certain, he possessed the earliest information on public affairs. He exposed abuses

and pilloried public men who countenanced them, stripping their plastered professions of virtue and laying bare the walls of reality. The author of these letters was Sir Philip Francis in all probability, and he was aided by "an eminent person deceased." It has since been learned that this coadjutor was the Earl of Chatham.

To understand why Great Britain and America quarrelled we must try to live in the atmosphere of Wilkes and Junius, and listen to the responding echoes of their voices in the Assemblies of America. America was interested, as she had a right to be, in the government of the Empire, but in it she had no voice.

Two politicians are conspicuous in the second struggle to tax America, Townshend and North. Townshend was Paymaster in the Grenville and Rockingham Ministries, the latter named "the lutestring fit only for summer wear." In Pitt's second administration, after he had become Earl Chatham and lost his popularity, Charles Townshend became Chancellor of the Exchequer. His loud voice and loud laugh enhanced an oratory which sparkled like the effervescence of champagne. "He possessed every great talent and every little virtue," wrote Horace Walpole; "with such a capacity he must have been the greatest man of his age, and perhaps inferior to no one in any age, had his faults been only in moderate proportion." Chatham was now ill; the voice silenced, the wisdom dulled which might have prevented a catastrophe. Townshend proposed that there should be colonial duties on glass, red and white lead, colours, paper and tea; ultimately all were abandoned but tea. Lord North, in early life a follower of Newcastle, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1767, on May 1, 1769, after the Land Tax had been reduced from 4s. to 3s. in the £ by an adverse vote, decided the Cabinet by a casting vote to enforce a custom duty on tea entering America; the East India Company could export their tea, duty free, subject only to the custom duties in America and the Regulating Act. Revenue was now £400,000 short by the reduction of the Land Tax, a reduction which ultimately cost the country 100 million pounds. On December 18, 1773, East India ships laden with tea anchored in Boston; they were boarded at night by

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men disguised as Mohawks, and the tea thrown overboard. Civil war drew terribly near.

Franklin and other American agents in London were extremely anxious. Franklin was asked whether Americans were loyal. He replied, "Americans from their earliest infancy were taught to venerate a people from whom they were descended, whose language, laws and manners were the same as their own; they looked upon them as models of perfection, and in their unprejudiced minds the most enlightened nations in Europe were considered as almost barbarous in comparison with Englishmen; the name of an Englishman conveyed to an American the idea of everything great and good."

Lord Chatham, no longer in office, now sorely martyred by gout and troubled in mind, sought an interview with Franklin at Hayes, and asked: "Did America wish to be an independent State, or to get rid of the Navigation Acts?" Franklin replied: "He had never heard anyone, drunk or sober, wish for separation." With regard to the Navigation Acts, their material part, the carrying on of trade in British plantation ships navigated by three-quarters British seamen, was as acceptable to America as to Britain. Even on the question of a general regulation of commerce America was not hostile, provided Parliament acted bona-fide for the benefit of the whole Empire and not for the small advantage of one part to the great injury of another, such as, for instance, obliging American ships to call in England with their wine and fruit from Portugal or Spain, and restrictions on the manufacture of woollen goods and hats, prohibition of slitting mills, trip hammers and steel works.

Before Parliament met in November, 1774, Franklin was invited to a game of chess with Lord Howe's sister. By now the merchants were alarmed and were holding meetings to petition Parliament. The game was followed by a second; Miss Howe then asked: "What is to be done? I hope we are not to have a civil war." "They should kiss and be friends," said the Doctor. "What can they do better? Quarrelling can be of service to neither, but is ruin to both." Interviews for compromise followed with Lord Howe; Franklin was asked to suggest in writing measures for a durable settlement. He considered that the Navigation

Acts should be re-enacted in all the colonies by their Assemblies, and naval officers appointed by the Crown should reside in each colony to see them enforced; Acts in restraint of manufacture should be repealed, and duties arising from Acts for regulating trade should be for their public use. America would maintain her own peace establishment since Britain had the monopoly of her trade; no requisition should be made for money in time of peace; in time of war every colony should raise a minimum sum, none contributing less than the minimum, though that might be largely added to. If Great Britain surrendered her trade monopoly, America would contribute to the civil expenditure of Great Britain in time of peace, but the British Parliament must disclaim all power of internal legislation over America.

The reply was that the restraint of manufacture in America was a favourite idea in Great Britain; Franklin said, should America be taxed towards the support of British government as Scotland was since the Union she should be granted the same privileges as Scotland; if she were asked to contribute to the National Debt, Ireland should also be asked and means provided for inquiry into the expenditure of all money. He thought, however, his counter-proposition might create misunderstanding. The introduction of Hanoverian and Hessian troops into America without her consent was objectionable; she had assisted Great Britain at a great expense of blood and treasure in conquering Canada; she should have been considered in the peace settlement. The merchants answered that the giving up of the monopoly of American commerce by England was totally inadmissible. Negotiations then broke off.

In 1774 the American agents presented the Petition of Congress to the King, which set out American grievances in a carefully worded document that received the highest praise from Lord Chatham.

To the monopoly of the commerce of America Adam Smith was strongly opposed, but to propose "Great Britain should voluntarily give up all authority over her colonies and leave them to elect their own magistrates, to enact their own laws and to make peace and war as they might think proper would be to propose such a measure as never was and

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never will be adopted by any nation in the world. The most visionary enthusiast would scarce be capable of proposing such a measure with any serious hopes at least of its ever being adopted. But supposing it were adopted, Great Britain could settle such a treaty of commerce as would effectively secure her a free trade which might keep the colonies together for centuries, to favour us in war as well as in trade, and to make them instead of turbulent and factious subjects affectionate and generous allies."

From 1774 to 1776 events moved swiftly down the rapids towards war; to pride and prejudice were added inflamed passions. There is no need to linger over the incidents of the war, they may be left buried in the ashes of history. The Empire had been united sixteen years before under Chatham, now it was to be divided.

During the war and afterwards, although America remained politically independent, she continued economically dependent upon British manufactures. French merchants had seen in the war a golden opportunity for trade, but their ships were captured, and out of 400 scarcely thirty returned to their shores. English goods were smuggled through Nova Scotia, and goods were purchased by American agents from England even before the vessels had started. One ship sailed directly to Boston, where its cargo was disposed of at a profit of 270 per cent. Sometimes by connivance a British ship would be captured, brought to an American port, and the goods disposed of by public auction, a prize which had been handsomely paid for in advance. France supplied money to clothe the American army, the American agent bought English cloth from Holland, and excused himself on the ground that it was better. As France objected, English goods were shipped to Holland and transported to America.

Boston shopkeepers labelled their French goods English, the demand was only for English goods. America disposed of her commodities to England through the Dutch, French and Danish West India Islands. When offered for their lumber, timber and tobacco Dutch and French goods by the foreign islanders, they refused to take them. Soon the islands became stocked with British merchandise. Tobacco

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was sent to Great Britain through the Dutch island of St. Eustatius; after Holland joined the war it was shipped through the Danish island of St. Thomas. The bulk of trade, however, passed directly to Tortola, one of the Virgin Islands. After the war, when America opened her ports, French trade failed to establish itself in the United States. America continued to be a most excellent customer till the outbreak of the second war.

During the war Canada clung steadfastly to the British connection; neither the appeals of France nor America moved her. Forty thousand Americans, the United Empire loyalists, crossed from the United States to Canada, preferring the British flag. Some made new homes in Upper Canada, but the majority settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. America vainly knocked at the doors of Canada.

CHAPTER XXI

THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRIES (1782—1793)

"ON February 27, 1782, between one and two o'clock in the morning, General Conway carried by 234 votes to 215 a resolution that gave victory to the Opposition by its conveyance; liberty to America, peace to England." The Commons declared such as should advise or attempt to further the prosecution of the war should be deemed enemies. Great Britain was then embroiled with France, Spain and Holland, and £90,000,000 to £100,000,000 was the price she paid for a monumental piece of folly. Peace was first made with America, and next with France and Spain. At the final settlement at Versailles, September 3, 1783, Great Britain ceded Tobago and restored St. Lucia to France, receiving back Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Kitts and Montserrat. In Africa, Senegal and Goree passed to France, Gambia and Fort St. James to Great Britain. Spain restored Minorca and West Florida, but obtained East Florida. In India only was there any gain to Great Britain, but this was insufficient to counterbalance the loss of her American colonies. The Treaty with Holland provided for a mutual restoration of all conquests except Negapatam, kept by Great Britain.

In the spring of 1776, on the verge of the American War, to a country casting sorrowful eyes on an apparently dismal future, Adam Smith had presented his great work, "The Wealth of Nations." As this work had an enormous influence on the nation, some short account of it is necessary. In 1763 he left England as tutor to the young Duke of Buccleuch to spend two and a half years in France, and in Paris lived on intimate terms of friendship with the French economists or physiocrats, who were expounding new theories of trade. By her loss of Canada, and her failure to obtain supremacy in India, France had then lost all hope of a colonial empire.

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Her old trading system broken up, she required a new system. Great Britain in 1776 was on the verge of losing her American colonies. There was therefore a similarity in the position of the two countries. "The Wealth of Nations" inculcated two doctrines as bases of any system of trade, self-interest and natural liberty. Therefore every man should be free to pursue his own interests provided he did not violate the laws of justice. The State should not in any way interfere—"*Laissez faire, laissez passer.*" Adam Smith did not carry his views as far as the French Physiocratic School, who believed that in their acceptance rested the key to social regeneration. His work, however, had purposes of a practical nature, one to reconcile Great Britain to the inevitable loss of her American colonies, and the other to prepare the way for trade with France. Although a great believer in the value of the colonial trade, he attacked the colonies on the ground that they had not contributed to the defence or support of the civil government of Great Britain. His statement requires qualification, for America had supplied both forces and men to the conquest of Canada, although afterwards at the peace she was denied a right to fish on the Newfoundland banks. Neither Hanover nor Ireland contributed to the support of the civil government of Great Britain. When he wrote, the population of Great Britain was about 8,000,000, Ireland 3,050,000, and America less than 3,000,000. Whilst admitting that America and Ireland were entitled to representation, he considered it practically impossible. It was true that Scotland contributed to the National Debt, but she possessed representation. As Ireland and America were indirectly taxed by the high prices charged for British goods which they were compelled to purchase, there was probably not so much injustice as he thought. He suggested that Great Britain should seek new avenues for foreign trade, as the American market was probably gone. He argued that as there was only a certain amount of capital in the country it should be employed in nearer markets where its return would be quicker. He favoured better means of communication by the construction of inland waterways and the abolition of tolls by which the exchange of goods was impeded. He also pleaded for a more equitable distribution of the burdens of

taxation. Admitting the difficulty of allowing free imports, he argued, "If the free importation of foreign manufacturers were permitted, several of the home manufacturers would probably suffer and some of them perhaps go to ruin altogether, and a considerable portion of the stock and industry employed in them would be forced to find out some other employment." "But the freest importation of the rude produce of the soil could have no such effect upon the agriculture of the country." With reference to the importation of foreign corn, gentlemen and farmers would suffer very little—a prophesy falsified by events. Adam Smith cannot be considered a free trader in the sense that Free Trade has been accepted, for in two cases he admits the advantages of laying burdens upon foreign industries for the encouragement of native industry: (1) When industries are necessary for the defence of the country, such as key industries, without which a country would be without the means of defending itself against attack. (2) When a tax is imposed on the produce of some domestic industry, for instance, an excise tax on soap would demand a customs tax also, otherwise foreign soap would obtain an unfair advantage in the home market. Taxes on foreign manufactures were too high (they undoubtedly were), and imposed for the purpose of a monopoly and not for revenue. "By removing all prohibitions, by subjecting all foreign manufactures to such moderate taxes as it was found from experience afforded upon each article the greatest revenue to the public, our own workmen would still have a considerable advantage in the home market; and many articles, some of which afforded no revenue to Government and others a very inconsiderable one, might afford a very great one." He deduced wealth as produced by labour, but the price of labour, like any other commodity, was fixed by the law of supply and demand. Favouring good wages, he made no suggestion how to enforce them, which would have been contrary to the principles of Free Trade. When labour was plentiful its price fell, but its fall could not sink lower than mere subsistence wages. Taxes on necessities were objectionable because they fell upon employers, and never really injured the workers, as employers were always compelled to recoup them by increases of wages.

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Increased wages meant an increase in the cost of manufacture, and the greater it cost the less was the merchant's ability to sell in foreign markets.

Adam Smith failed to see that workmen would combine to obtain higher wages than those which afforded them a bare subsistence. In his time combinations amongst victuallers or artificers to raise the price of provisions or commodities or the wages of labour were illegal by particular Acts and an ancient statute, and the doctrine of *laissez faire* left the State practically powerless in the field of social reform. The problem a State always has to face is how to assure productive employment, not only to content the people, but to increase the general wealth of the community. For as wealth is deducible from labour, the greater the productive employment the greater the wealth. In 1776 trade with France was negligible. Terribly impoverished by wars, the French workmen were wretchedly paid. Burke, discussing the proposition that British capital would start industries in France to avail itself of cheap labour conditions, scorned the idea. "If living is cheaper in France," he wrote, "no manufacturer, let the living be what it will, was ever known to fly for refuge to low wages; money is the first thing which attracts him; accordingly our wages attract artificers from all parts of the world. From two shillings to one shilling is a fall in all men's imaginations which no calculation upon a difference in the price of the necessaries of life can compensate; but it will be hard to prove that a French artificer is better fed, clothed, lodged and warmed than one in England; for that is the sense and the only sense of living cheaper."

In Paris, as he described it, no single article of food entered the gates but was taxed—corn, hay, meal, butcher's meat, fish, fowl; £2 10s. charged on every ox.

His comparison of the credit of the two nations is striking. French 5 per cents. stood at 63, 4 per cents. (not taxed) at 57, 3 per cents. at 49. British bank stock $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cents. stood at 159, 4 per cent. Consols at 100, 3 per cents. at 88.

Burke saw in the condition of France the coming Revolution: "No man, I believe, who has considered their affairs with any degree of attention or information but must hourly

look for some extraordinary convulsion in that whole system, the effect of which in France, and even on all Europe, it is difficult to conjecture." Yet Europe was blind and deaf. The aristocracy of France danced and ruffled in their rich embroidered clothes; had they stopped to listen they might have heard the deep-drawn sighs and muttered curses of a starving population.

From Chatham's first administration British manufactures had flourished exceedingly. About 1758 Cookworthy, a Devonshire man, discovered Cornish china clay on Tregonning Hill, and china stone near St. Austell's, in Cornwall. The clay and stone for making porcelain found, manufacture was started at Bristol. Remarkable was the discovery and enterprise of Josiah Wedgwood, of Burslem, in Staffordshire. After the opening of his Etruria works in 1769 English china became famous, and few ships left England but contained specimens of his pottery. His dinner services were sought for all over Europe. The Empress Catherine II of Russia is said to have ordered two, paying for one over £2,000.

James Hargreaves, of Blackburn, carpenter and handloom spinner, invented the spinning-jenny, and Kay, from Bury, in 1773 invented the fly-shuttle—which the Leeds manufacturers adopted, but, refusing to pay royalties, litigation ensued, and workers, fearing unemployment by reason of increased production, broke into his house and destroyed everything they found, Kay narrowly escaping with his life.

Manufacturers were generally mean enough to refuse to pay for what made them rich, and workmen offered violence for what was to bring them higher wages and more employment. Arkwright, of Preston, another Lancashire man who sprang from the humblest rank of life, in 1770 patented a jenny for spinning by rollers. Poor and ragged in his little room, hidden from view by a garden full of gooseberry bushes, he worked for years, the strange noises proceeding from it leading to the belief that he was practising some devil dance of witchcraft or sorcery. At Nottingham, between Hockley and Wool Pack Lane, his invention was first worked by horses. Water power was applied near the Derwent River; ultimately steam power. In 1782 his

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invention found employment for five thousand persons. The usual workmen's riots and actions for infringements began. His mill at Chorley was sacked and his patents used without payment. In 1785 30,000 men were employed in Lancashire solely by reason of his invention. Spinning was soon carried on in England and Scotland, and in Rouen and Philadelphia.

The story of the iron industry is equally instructive. In 1740 only 48,000 tons of pig-iron were produced. Henry Cort discovered the process of puddling, but his invention ruined him, for his partner, a deputy paymaster in the navy, had found the capital out of Government funds, and the firm of Cort and Jellicoe, of Gosport, was sued for its recovery. Cort was ruined, and died in receipt of a small Government pension of £200 a year. James Watt, of Greenock, invented the modern condensing steam-engine. When twenty-eight years of age he realized the possibilities arising from the application of steam. His invention was put to commercial uses, and Birmingham saw the rise of the great firm of Boulton and Watt, of Soho. Joseph Black discovered latent heat, Sir Humphry Davy led the way in chemistry, and Priestley discovered oxygen. A remarkable fact in connection with most of these inventors was their humble origin and circumstances. Tar was extracted from coal by Lord Dundonald, who took out a patent for its manufacture. To Lord Dundonald's inventive genius credit must be given for the making of bicarbonate of soda. On the banks of the Tyne alkali works were established. From coal came gas, and Dundonald lit his house at Culross with it. Murdoch, in the employment of Boulton and Watt, improved the process, and in 1803, at the Lyceum Theatre, performances were played by gaslight. When (1776) Adam Smith wrote his "Wealth of Nations," Great Britain stood at the entrance to an enchanted cave of Aladdin with an open sesame of invention in her hand to unlock a magnificent treasure-house of new wealth.

After 1783 English goods reached France in great quantities, where they were welcomed. The opportunity had arrived for the French economists to test their theories. France had two years' experience. On July 10, 1785,

Louis XVI published a decree which stated that whilst such a liberal system of beneficent intentions would be desirable if universally and reciprocally established, yet he had to consult the interests of the country. A week later he prohibited the importation of English saddlery, hosiery, woollen cloths and hardware, and all other English goods, as their introduction was ruining French industries. As Louis XVI had referred approvingly to reciprocity, an opportunity to test it was soon afforded by the Eden Treaty of 1787, when Great Britain arranged with France that French wines were to pay no higher duties than those of Portugal, and British duties on French brandies and vinegars should be lowered. In return France agreed to admit English cotton and woollen manufactures, subject only to a 12 per cent. duty, except in the case of fabrics mixed with silk. Adam Smith had attacked the Methuen Treaty of 1703, which had stood in the way of a French treaty, since England had agreed to take Portuguese wines on favoured terms on Portugal agreeing to take woollen goods. He ignored its original object—alliance for defence. It was defence in the time of Queen Anne; it was again defence in the Peninsular War.

Pitt explained the Eden Treaty to some manufacturers who opposed it: "British manufactures were so confessedly superior as to dread no competition and greatly to counter-balance the natural products of France." "Such a state of affairs had not existed at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht, when Great Britain had nothing of importance to exchange." France now "gained markets for her produce which employed in preparation few hands, gave little encouragement to its navigation, and produced but little to the State. We gained the market for our manufactures, which employed hundreds of thousands, and which in collecting the materials from every corner of the world advanced our material strength, as well as in all their combinations at every stage of their process contributing largely to the State." The gain to France he estimated by the treaty was £100,000; to Britain £1,000,000. "The political argument that France was unalterably her enemy," he said, "had neither foundation in the experience of nations nor in the history of man.

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It was a libel on the constitution of political society, and supposed the existence of a diabolical, immovable malice in the original frame of man."

The closing years of the century rejoiced in the reign of King Cotton, who as an infant was dandled in the nursing arms of Protection. Five hundred and forty-three cotton mills existed in 1787; two-thirds of them had been built since 1782, and one million of capital had been sunk in building. In 1780 Manchester could have employed 10,000 extra hands if she could have obtained them. Men, women and children, even pauper children from the workhouse, tramped to the cotton mills; and women of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, clothed themselves in cotton, from the cap on the crown of the head to the cotton stocking on the sole of the foot. A little later 100,000 people were employed. In 1781 six million pounds of cotton were used; in 1787 twenty-two million. The manufacture of British calico was first introduced into Lancashire in 1772. It increased from a production of fifty thousand pieces a year to a million in 1787. British ships from Demerara, the Brazils and the Indies brought cotton to Great Britain, for American cotton was not used till 1791. The profits were enormous. One pound of East India cotton wool spun into one pound of yarn fetched five guineas; yarn woven into muslin and ornamented by children on the tambour fetched £15, yielding a return of 5,900 per cent. on the total working up of the raw material.

With booming trade came increasing revenue, and like a frolicsome schoolgirl Great Britain romped into prosperity, skipping lightly over her financial troubles. Instead of proving favourable to France, the Eden Treaty proved disastrous. After 1787 the great influx of British goods into France began to close her factories and throw her workmen out of employment. Bad harvests added to the distress of the people. We now begin to hear distinctly the thunder of the chariot wheels of the Revolution starting from the manufacturing towns, whilst the sunny south-west rejoiced in the increased demand for her vintages.

After the termination of the war Lord North was compelled to resign, and the Rockingham Ministry succeeded.

On Lord Rockingham's death Lord Shelburne took the Treasury, and William Pitt, Lord Chatham's son, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Shelburne Ministry was soon followed by the Ministry of the Duke of Portland in 1783, when Fox combined with Lord North, an astonishing coalition which shocked the nation. At the end of the year the King dismissed it, and Pitt was called upon, when he was not quite twenty-five years of age, to become Prime Minister. Tall, thin, solemn and sedate in appearance, as an orator he was inferior to Fox, but whilst Fox appealed to the emotions of his hearers, Pitt, in his rich, sonorous voice, appealed to their reason—the former almost persuading, the latter convincing. A fascinating chapter of Parliamentary history began with Pitt and his Cabinet of seven, six in the Lords, he almost alone in the Commons, faced with an exasperated majority. His consummate Parliamentary strategy, his refusal to resign or appeal to the country till the real situation was appreciated, was marked by victory. From January 12 to March 24, 1784, the majorities against him dwindled. The City, the East India Company, and the nation rallied to his side. When a dissolution took place the Whigs were returned only 114 strong, 282 supporting the young Minister. The wits nicknamed the discomfited minority "Fox's Martyrs." Fox began life as an aristocrat, with the faults, enthusiasms and excesses of generous youth. His presence was handsome. He had bright eyes, a high colour, and black hair. Junius addressed him as "My pretty black boy." Fresh from a continental tour, primed with international ideas, he became the orator of his age.

He first appeared in public life as a macaroni—the term then applied to the dandy—with red-heeled shoes, his hair bunched and sprinkled with blue hair-powder, and wearing a blue coat and a buff waistcoat. At the Westminster election the blue and the buff were adopted as the colours of the Whig party. By his side his sword was attached, and in his hat was stuck a feather. During the period of the American troubles new verses were written to an old air about the pretensions of a Yankee doodle who had come to town on one of the fashionable little ponies of

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the day. "Stick a feather in his cap and call him 'Macaroni.'" When he quitted the ranks of the gilded youth, Fox adopted a plainer dress and discarded his sword. In the Augustan age of oratory he was first. "When he spoke," said Hazlitt, "everything showed the emotion of his mind; his tongue faltered, his voice became almost suffocated, and his face was bathed in tears; he was lost in the magnitude of his subject; he reeled and staggered under the load of feeling which oppressed him; he rolled like the sea beaten by the tempest." Fox has always been considered the father of the Liberal party, or at least of its most powerful section.

His days were days of an excessive sentimentality, which Sheridan satirized in his plays. Joseph Surface professed himself a man of sentiment. "A Sentimental Journey," "The Man of Feeling," and numerous other works and plays showed a fashion which exhibited itself within the walls of Westminster, where "Fox," said Dr. Johnson, "divided the ring with Cæsar so well that there was a doubt whether the nation should be ruled by the sceptre of George III or the tongue of Fox."

In his love of humanity Burke shared Pitt's views. With his father a Protestant and his mother a Roman Catholic, he was educated at a school kept by a member of the Society of Friends, and afterwards at Trinity College, Dublin. Thus early he realized the inestimable blessings of religious toleration. In 1750 he came to London to follow the profession of the law, soon to desert it for that of letters. Studying intensely, he became a veritable storehouse of knowledge. "If you met him for the first time in the street," said Dr. Johnson, "after five minutes' talk you would say this is an extraordinary man; he is never humdrum, never unwilling to talk, nor in haste to leave off." In 1765 he entered the House of Commons. The British Empire then became his stage, the English race his audience. Generous and warm-hearted, he never ignored home interests in favour of international sentiment. "Duties rather than barren rights were true bases of politics." He declared that "magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom, and a great empire and little minds go ill together." "We ought to

elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us."

Tall, vigorous, dignified in appearance, with a massive brow and stern expression, he spoke in the House of Commons with authority, alternately awing and charming it, notwithstanding his awkward action and harsh-toned voice with its Irish accent. Scorn, invective, sarcasm, glowing passages of description flowed from his lips, mingling with pearls of political wisdom, and an Oriental gorgeousness of metaphors and similes. Standing by America in her protest against taxation, he inveighed against the restrictions that strangled her trade, and appealed to the humanity of England in impassioned strains during the War of Independence not to employ savages against her. To Ireland he was always sympathetic, pleading for religious toleration and the unlocking of the shackles that bound the hands of her industry. With all his great qualifications, however, he never attained the highest position in the State.

Pitt's policy was fair play for all interests. As a Finance Minister he was deemed especially excellent. During his administration, between the years 1783 and 1789, British imports rose by upwards of three and a half millions, exports by two and a half millions, and re-exports of foreign manufactures by five and a half millions. In 1783 the 3 per cents. stood at £74; by 1792 they were over £96. His sinking fund to reduce the National Debt at first proved successful, but afterwards turned out to be disappointing. Nevertheless, by 1793 he had reduced the National Debt by ten and a quarter millions.

Pitt's policy may be divided into two periods—one of peace, the other of war. He endeavoured to effect a commercial settlement with Ireland during the former, and brought about the Union during the latter. In the history of the English Commonwealth the restless spectre of this unhappy sister-isle constantly intrudes, an angry and menacing figure. As a result of the American War the Irish Parliament declared itself independent. England had originally given a free Parliament to Ireland, as she had given free Assemblies to the plantations of America, but in the time of Henry VII Sir Edward Poynings was sent to Ireland to subdue the

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partisans of the House of York and the native Irish of Ulster living along the border of the Pale. His name is identified with a famous Irish statute which enacted that existing English laws should be in force in Ireland, that no Irish Parliament should sit without the consent of the English Council, and that the King in Council should have power to disallow any Irish statute passed. For centuries Ireland had no king, the Yorkist and Lancastrian monarchs being merely her lords, and the lord's representative the Lord Lieutenant. Henry VIII was the first English king who was declared king by an Irish Act of Parliament, when the Crowns of England and Ireland became united and knit together under the Crown Imperial.

The Reformation left Ireland uninfluenced. Garbed in the emerald dress of her traditions, she walked her lonely path wearing the sandals of her ancient faith. Later, when Scotland knocked at the gates of the English Commonwealth for admittance, and after long waiting entered, Ireland waited vainly outside. A new Ireland had risen within an old Ireland in the north-east, which was peopled mainly by men from Scotland of the Covenanting stock, grim enthusiasts, hard in judgment of others, but equally hard in judgment of themselves. These men formed the Ulster plantation—a British garrison which was placed there by James I. Often bent and bowed by the fury of wild Irish storms, the Ulster plantation survived, keeping its trust to Great Britain.

The English Commonwealth grew rich, the Irish remained poor. Although the Roman Catholic population was barred from place and power, nevertheless the Irish Protestant Parliament was distinctly national. Turning its attention to trade and the creation of industries, it ordered gardens to be sown with hemp and flax to supply the raw materials for the manufacture of linen, and organized agriculture. In 1783, supported by the Irish Volunteers, it declared itself free from British control, thus acting as the United States had acted shortly before. To the United States its leaders naturally turned for the development of their commerce. Before and after the War of Independence the Irish were leaving Ireland. In Ulster the farming population

had suffered from the economic results of the Seven Years War. During its continuance salt beef had been required for the Navy, and the demand led to the turning of arable land into pasture. Farmers were evicted, their improvements confiscated, and rents raised. Thirty-two thousand were dispossessed in Antrim alone. Seven thousand of the better class emigrated in one year to America, and when the War broke out they flocked to the standard of George Washington and fought for American independence. The poorer farmers who remained were restless and dissatisfied. Whilst the north-east of Ireland was thus disaffected Tipperary was seething with rebellion. The estates of the old Irish gentry, confiscated in the time of William III, had passed into the hands of new landlords, alien in race and sympathy, who were absentees from the soil from which they drew their wealth. Many of the descendants of the old landlords, reduced to poverty, survived as cotters hard by lands once their own. The great graziers, however, who were Irishmen, bought up land, and many became rich, but they purchased their wealth with deadly fear, for at night the ghostly figures of the White Boys, like the advancing surges of an angry sea, swept over their fields, levelling their fences, torturing their cattle, and burning down their farmhouses, leaving nothing behind but ashes and the calcined bones of their inmates. Such was the wild revenge of dispossessed peasantry. Not to dwell too long on episodes such as these, we may sum up the prevailing conditions: absentee landlords, Roman Catholics proscribed, Ulster smarting from economic causes, a Parliament consisting of many placemen and representatives of corrupt boroughs, a civil expenditure burdened with a pension list on which were quartered such scandalous persons as could not decently be provided for at home, and minor grievances too numerous to relate. Outwardly Ireland appeared calm; her life went on in the old way, with its christenings, marriages, wakes, rollicking fun and recklessness. Nevertheless, she was ready to flash into rebellion at the slightest provocation.

The policy of the Irish Parliament after 1783 conflicted with the supposed interests of British commerce. In 1785 Pitt made an attempt to form an agreement between

the two countries, and eleven resolutions to give effect to it were passed by the Irish Parliament. Foreign goods should be admitted through either country as if they were directly imported, prohibition abolished, duties equalized, internal duties proportionately regulated, bounties on goods intended for either country—except in respect of foodstuffs—put an end to, and whenever the hereditary revenue of the Crown in peace time exceeded £656,000, any surplus should be appropriated for the Navy. A resolution declared that it was expedient for the general benefit of the British Empire that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated from time to time in each kingdom on such terms as would secure an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the general produce of manufacture of the countries.

The British Parliament passed twenty resolutions, but as members objected to Irish trade passing the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn, Ireland rejected the counter-proposals, and the dream of an agreement faded away. Great Britain, notwithstanding the lesson of the American War, still persisted in maintaining her monopoly trade; the Whigs with Fox joining hands with the manufacturers to balk the promise of peace.

Pitt was a very humane statesman and a close personal friend of Wilberforce, and, like him, strongly opposed to the slave trade. Fox equally desired its abolition, and the City of London and most of the great corporations ranged themselves with Fox and Pitt. An inquiry was now ordered and undertaken by the Privy Council as to its conditions, when it was found that slaves were chained two and two together on the slave ships; two to three carried for every ton of the vessel's burden, two-thirds of whom were males between sixteen and thirty years of age. On some voyages a quarter died, and even more. When the survivors reached Jamaica they were doctored up by the ship's surgeon and sold, but generally with ruined constitutions; for a planter was considered lucky who at the end of three years found fifteen of his twenty new negroes alive.

In the Criminal Law of England, however, humanity had little place. Out of employment a man could steal—and

probably be hung for the offence—or become a pauper. It was not to be wondered at that the population adopted pauperism.

In 1776 hulks were moored in the Thames by the Essex marshes with convicts aboard, heavily ironed, employed in dredging the river. A movement to reform the prisons had come about from the work of John Howard, who, when High Sheriff of Bedfordshire, discovered that prisoners, after grand juries had thrown out the bills of indictment against them, and even after acquittal, were still detained in prison till the jailors' fees were paid. Struck with this injustice, Howard visited the jails, witnessing their horrible insanitary conditions and the callous neglect of prisoners. Flashing his lantern light into the loathsome places he published the story. After being called upon to give evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, he received its thanks for his noble humanity. As a result, two Acts were passed to abolish jailors' fees and make provision for the preservation of the health of prisoners. Howard's mission was not yet finished. Visiting the jails again and again, he travelled the Continent inspecting the prisons, but vainly he attempted to penetrate the secrets of the Bastille. This English gentleman, spare of form and of delicate constitution, died in Russia, after journeying 50,000 miles and spending a fortune of £30,000 for the sake of humanity. We may ask, who but a great Englishman would have done this?

As we wander now amidst the dark underworld of social life we feel something familiar approaching us. Is it not the England of Charles Dickens, with its pictures of the prison system, the Essex marshes and the convicts?

A vision of better things attracted the nation, and with it came the first convict settlement of Australia, which was founded not to get rid of undesirables, but to improve their lives in a new world. In 1785 the jails were overflowing, America being no longer available for convicts. Some had been transported to the West Coast of Africa, where they had died like flies. New South Wales was recommended as a penal settlement, a recommendation which was adopted. Captain Arthur Phillip, R.N., a Londoner, born in the parish of All Hallows, Bread Street, was chosen as first

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Governor. An expedition was fitted out, Pitt intervening directly in settling its details. The *Sirius*, a ship of war, with a tender, the *Supply*, three store-ships and six transports, made up the fleet subsequently known as the First Fleet, in which 778 convicts were transported. On the voyage out there was a mutiny on the *Scarborough*, one of the transports, which was speedily quelled. The fleet touched at the Cape of Good Hope and there took on board all sorts of animals and poultry, so that it was likened to Noah's Ark.

On reaching Botany Bay, January 18, 1788, Captain Phillip sailed for one of the finest harbours in the world, Port Jackson. Ultimately he landed in Sydney Cove, and there founded a new city, named Sydney, after Thomas Townshend, Viscount Sydney, one of Pitt's Secretaries of State. Many were the trials and troubles of the infant colony. A thousand and thirty souls had landed in all. Fifty convicts died on the voyage; thirty-six were under sentence for life; twenty for fourteen years; the others for seven years. The sentences of many had almost expired, and the majority were deported from England for trivial offences. No relief ships came to the colony for a long time, so the colonists were nearly starved, but on June 3, 1790, the *Juliana* from London arrived with 222 female convicts. Later in the month three other transports arrived, and next the supply ships known as the Second Fleet. Through their long period of waiting the colonists had remained undaunted, and on June 4, 1790, King George's birthday, they assembled, remembering they were Britons, who, however distressed and distant from their Motherland, revered their king and country. Amongst these early settlers were MacArthur and D'Arcy Wentworth, the latter father of one of Australia's greatest orators. With what delight may we follow Captain Phillip, who, before he had left England, had declared his intention of doing all that he could for the native races, hoping to furnish them with everything that would tend to civilize them and give them a high opinion of their new guests. Convicts should have no dealings with them and ever remain separated from the garrison and other settlers, and any man who killed

a native should stand his trial as if he had killed any of the garrison. Australian settlement thus began, but soon arrived farmers and other settlers. Exploration began with Bass, Flinders and Vancouver.

George Vancouver's voyage connects two worlds. When we enter the little ancient, red-brick church of St. Peter's, Petersham, or stand by his grave in the cemetery hard by where the Thames flows past Twickenham Ferry, our thoughts wander back to the Elizabethan navigators. Vancouver when a boy was rated as an able seaman on board the *Resolution*, with Captain Cook, and sailed with him again on the *Discovery* as a midshipman. In command of the *Discovery* in 1791 he rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and, sailing to South-west Australia, gave the King's name to King George's Sound. After carefully exploring the recesses of Dusky Bay, New Zealand, and visiting Tahiti, he reached the shores of the Pacific, circumnavigating that island which now bears his name, and discovering British Columbia. Australians, New Zealanders and Canadians may stand in reverence by this great Englishman's grave.

One thousand two hundred miles to the north-east of Australia, 500 miles from New Zealand, lies Norfolk Island, a small place something like the Isle of Sheppey, discovered by Captain Cook. It was chosen as a place for convicts. Many memories cluster round it of Lieutenant King and the two native New Zealanders who taught the convicts to weave flax. Presently rude outlaws ranged the bushes of Tasmania, called bushrangers, who eventually carried the name and their practices to the Island Continent. New South Wales was a prolific youthful mother, and soon began to found colonies in Norfolk Island and Tasmania. With Empire on their lips, and in the friendliest rivalry with the French, the Australians began the work of settlement; soon, like the England of Elizabeth, Australia rode to prosperity on the back of the sheep.

That famous little native English sheep, whose wool had been sought for centuries by Europe, no longer existed. By cross-breeding it had grown in size, but the gain in bulk was accompanied by a loss in the quality of its wool. The woollen manufacturers of Great Britain for

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some time had turned to Spain for their material. Australia's opportunity arrived with her unlimited pasture grounds. From the crossing of Irish, Bengal and Spanish sheep the sheep of New South Wales were bred.

In the time of Clive the East India Company had become the power behind the thrones of the Indian potentates. During the administration of Warren Hastings it ascended the thrones, and, strangest of happenings, the old trading company became the governor of an empire. The administration of Warren Hastings, who had dreamed when a boy of restoring the fallen fortunes of his house and recovering the ancestral home of Daylesford, was arraigned at the tribunal of public opinion, and acts of oppression were alleged against him. His defenders urged that his acknowledged services in saving India, even if some of the charges were true, had outweighed these. It was generally agreed that national honour could not be soiled for the greatest of all material possessions. Fierce fires of controversy were kindled; Hastings was impeached, standing his trial to defend the justice of his administration. When it commenced the presence of a great assembly of all who were illustrious for law and learning, or distinguished by rank and beauty, testified to its importance. Many who were present remembered how, when Hyder Ali's army had threatened the very existence of the company, it was Hastings' energy and genius which had saved it. The trial, begun in a blaze of oratory, lasted many years, but interest gradually waned. A new war was commenced with France, and when judgment was ultimately given he was acquitted. In 1813, when he entered the House of Commons as an old man to give evidence on the renewal of the East India Company's charter, members from all sides of the House applauded him, and when he departed they rose to their feet, standing silent and bareheaded as he passed out. Profoundly interesting was this trial, because of the motives which prompted it—the care for the native races—a policy which dates from the very foundations of the Empire.

Two important events occurred before 1789. In 1785 the United Provinces were rent by internal struggles, an

oligarchy of the provincial estates being supported by the French Government, and the Government of the Stadtholder, which bore some resemblance to a constitutional monarchy, by Great Britain. With the growth of French influence, the Province of Zeeland, early in 1786, offered to leave the Confederation if assured of British support. On the death of Frederick the Great, his nephew, who was the brother of the Princess of Orange, succeeded him, and Prussia now determined to intervene to support the Stadtholder. The Duke of Brunswick marched with an army to his assistance, and his rapid success prevented the breaking out of a European war, which had seemed imminent. The success of the Duke was followed by the signing of treaties between Prussia and Holland, and Great Britain and Holland, by which the integrity of Holland was guaranteed as a barrier to the ambition of France. Another war, which had been on the eve of breaking out between Great Britain and Spain, was averted by the bold measures adopted by the British Government. Spain had suddenly seized a British station at Nootka Sound, Vancouver, and taken some British ships. Pitt's protest was followed by his preparation for war, when Spain promptly and without further demur abandoned her conquest.

The year 1789 witnessed an event of first-class importance in the United States, the coming into force of her federal constitution, which assigned to a central authority the power to make war and peace and foreign treaties and to appoint ambassadors and deal with commerce. By placing the executive power in the hands of an elected president, an authority not heretofore possessed was given the federation. A Canadian judge, watching the strength acquired by the States for purposes of national unity through federalism, suggested that the provinces of Canada should federate; Canadian federation, however, was a long way off. Nevertheless, constitutional changes were taking place. A constitution had been granted Canada by an Act of Parliament, and not by an exercise of royal authority, in 1774. This constitution guaranteed the right to the French-Canadian to exercise the Roman Catholic religion unmolested. George III, as the heir of the Protestant succession, may have con-

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sidered that a parliamentary guarantee was in accordance with the traditions of the Revolution and his coronation oath.

After 1774 a new constitution became necessary by reason of the influx of population, and in 1791 Canada was divided into Upper and Lower Canada. In 1789 the French Revolution broke out. Thousands in Great Britain and Ireland applauded it, and hundreds would have imitated it. Fox worshipped before this newly erected altar of freedom; Burke stood aloof, hardly doing justice to the causes which had provoked it, and soon he began to use his powerful pen to oppose it, failing to recognize the fair figure of Liberty draped in robes of dripping blood. The Revolution was an earthquake, and its tremors were felt in Scotland, where many planned an open revolution. Some were tried, convicted and transported to Australia. Many societies sprang up in Great Britain whose members advocated that the example of the Revolution should be fostered. Pitt, as the guardian of national policy, was careful not to meddle with the affairs of a neighbouring state. He hoped for fifteen years of peace and prosperity for the country, and informed Mirabeau that Great Britain would not interfere with France. His attitude towards the Revolution was that of a traveller in a country of mountains and valleys who watches an approaching thunderstorm to see whether it is tending his way.

For many years the currents of American and Irish thought had mingled in one channel. The Middle Temple was one of the centres for discussion. Before the War of Independence American and Irish students had dined in its old Elizabethan Hall, and debated their country's affairs in clubs and Fleet Street coffee-houses. Some of the signatories of the American Declaration of Independence were barristers or law students versed in the traditions of Westminster Hall and conversant with the history and constitution of Great Britain. Although the American students had ceased to come to England, Irishmen studied as before, amongst whom were Grattan, Burke, Goldsmith, Robert and Addis Emmett and Wolfe Tone, the last mentioned a student in 1787. Knowing little law but much of politics, Wolfe Tone

offered his services to Pitt to establish a military colony in the South Seas to check the ambitions of Spain, but Pitt declined the offer. In 1789 he was called to the Irish Bar, and joined a political club of which Emmett was a member. As the ideas of the French Revolution made progress in Ireland, especially amongst the Ulster Presbyterians, Wolfe Tone sought through the United Irish Society to unite all parties in Ireland, and ultimately, by the aid of France, to gain independence for her. But he had no intention of subordinating Ireland to France.

As the French Revolution developed it began to appear to the mass of the people of England as embodying the principles of disorganization. The people read accounts of long processions of victims marching to the guillotine, of Madame Roland fixing her eyes on the gigantic statue of Liberty where the statue of Louis XV had once stood, crying sadly: "O Liberty! what crimes they commit in thy name!" The Frenchman only realized that his country was fighting against the Continental League which threatened her existence and her newly-won liberties. We may understand the growth of English feeling towards the Revolution from the pages of Burke, and his lament on the death of Marie Antoinette that the age of chivalry was dead. All Europe had once shivered at the execution of Charles I. England shivered when the news reached London at five o'clock in the afternoon of January 23, 1793, that Louis XVI had been executed two days before, and that France was without an executive head; Chauvelin, the French Ambassador, was ordered to leave England at once. The Crown had accredited him; the Crown was gone, and a republic was in power. On February 1 France declared war against Great Britain and Holland. Pitt explained foreign policy to the House of Commons: "This Government will never consent that France shall abrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure, and under the pretence of a pretended natural right of which she makes herself the only judge, the political system of Europe established by solemn treaties and guaranteed by the consent of all the Powers; this Government, adhering to the maxim which it has followed for more than a century, will also

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never see with indifference that France shall make herself either directly or indirectly the sovereign of the Low Countries or general arbiter of the rights and liberties of Europe." Thus the great struggle began, whose material effects were traceable in England for nearly sixty years, the final contest between two old rivals, and the end of a long series of disastrous wars which dated from the time of William III.

CHAPTER XXII

THE FRENCH AND AMERICAN WARS (1793—1815)

THE effects of the war were soon strikingly felt by the warehouses becoming full of unsaleable goods, so £5,000,000 was voted by Parliament to alleviate the hardship occasioned. The French market that had been opened by the Eden Treaty was closed by October, 1793, when an embargo was placed on all British goods in France. The balance of power on the Continent was affected, the family compact by which France and Spain were bound together failing to survive the Revolution. This state of things did not last long, for in 1796 Spain joined France, as Holland had the previous year. With the Germans driven beyond the Rhine, the Directory was triumphant on land, though meeting defeat upon the seas. In 1797 Jervis and Duncan, the former at St. Vincent and the latter at Camperdown, crushed the navies of Spain and Holland in the very year when, by the irony of fate, Italy crouched a defeated suppliant at the feet of Bonaparte. Throughout these years the blockade of France by Great Britain continued unceasingly and relentlessly. When France dispatched her goods to America in American ships they were seized by the British Navy as contraband of war. She turned her eyes to the Levant and Egypt, whence much cotton and other materials were brought for the manufacturers of Great Britain. Under the shadow of the Pyramids the French Army conquered the Mamelukes, the seizure of Egypt was for one end: "The army of the East," ran the words of a secret decree given by the Directory to Bonaparte, "shall take possession of Egypt; the commander-in-chief shall chase the English from all their positions in the East which he can reach, and in particular he shall destroy all their comptoirs in the Red Sea; he shall have the Isthmus of Suez cut through, and he shall take all the steps necessary to assure the free and exclusive possession

of the Red Sea to the French Republic." In the midst of Bonaparte's Egyptian triumphs, the fateful handwriting was written by the British Navy upon the shores of the land of the Pharaohs: "Thy kingdom has departed from thee." The fleet under Nelson, attacking the French fleet at the Battle of the Nile, practically destroyed it. The effects were electrical. Naples rose to arms, the siege of Acre was countered by its pertinacious defence under Sir Sydney Smith, and Napoleon escaped hurriedly to France, leaving Britain supreme in the Mediterranean. Even Malta, that had been captured by the French on their way to Egypt, was blockaded by the Allied fleets.

The Liberalism of England, which had hitherto followed Fox, began to desert him, especially when it became known that Switzerland was invaded. The sleep of Wordsworth, the poet, he tells us, was generally broken by ghastly visions of cruelty to innocent victims. France tired of her Directory. Like the Eastern woman who, as she dreamed of the profits to be obtained from the sale of her basket of eggs, dropped them, so France woke with a shock and demanded order and settled government. Napoleon, interpreting her wishes, seized the reins of power, and in 1799 attempted to negotiate a peace, but the peace suggested was hopeless.

In the midst of this European conflict Pitt introduced his great measure for the union of Great Britain and Ireland, which was to be completed by another Act emancipating the Roman Catholics from their religious disabilities. The Bill became law and the Irish Parliament ceased to exist, the owners of corrupt boroughs receiving a large grant of money on the extinction of their interests. So anxious was Pitt to carry this measure through that he even consented to add to the huge debt which Great Britain was piling up by the war in his desire to pacify Ireland. He had had previous experience in trying to disenfranchise some of the rotten boroughs in England without compensation, but the owners of these citadels of interest had proved too strong for him. The opposition to the Bill was led by Mr. Grey, of Falloden, who, invoking the precedent of the union with Scotland, pointed out that there was no true analogy in the cases. The union of Scotland with England had been

completed in all respects, and no separate Privy Council had been allowed to remain. After the union with Scotland there had been one executive and one Parliament, and even then years had been required to effect a true community of interests and sympathies. He reminded the House that Lord Somers had stated that he would rather lose the Bill for the union of England and Scotland than leave two Privy Councils in existence. Separate executives had from the earliest days been sources of the greatest trouble to the country. Notwithstanding his arguments, the Act for the union of Great Britain and Ireland passed, leaving the Lord-Lieutenant and the Irish Privy Council in existence. Before its passing Ireland had been in a state of insurrection. After the French had effected a landing in Ireland, Wolfe Tone had joined them; he was subsequently arrested and sentenced to death by a court martial. Dramatic scenes had followed the sentence. The civil authority asserted its supremacy over the military, emphatically declining to allow the sentence to be carried out; the interposition was too late, Wolfe Tone had perished by his own hand. The tragic muse mourned over the execution of Robert, the brother of Thomas Emmett, who was betrothed to Sarah Curran; her poignant grief for his death is immortalized by Tom Moore, the poet, in some beautiful and touching lines.

Unable to carry Catholic emancipation, Pitt resigned, and the Addington Ministry succeeded. The popular view of his successor was expressed in the couplet:

Pitt is to Addington
As London is to Paddington.

The new Ministry negotiated the Peace of Amiens in 1801. The people were now very tired of war; bread was dear and taxes high. The middle class chafing under the burdens of the income tax recently imposed, were only too ready to believe in Napoleon's good intentions. When his emissary drove through the streets of London to negotiate the peace preliminaries, the crowd, believing him to be Napoleon, followed his carriage, cheering him. When the final terms of the treaty, however, were disclosed, disillusionment swiftly

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followed. The French refugees, who by the amiability of their ways, had brought pleasant thoughts of France with them were forbidden to return, and the entry of British goods was prohibited.

The year following the Peace of Amiens proved good for trade. Exports rose by £5,000,000, or 13 per cent. above those of 1801, but the renewal of the war reduced them below the figures of 1801. The peace proved transient. Early in 1803 it was realized that Napoleon, who was now first Consul of France, was making preparations for war and assembling at French ports French and Dutch vessels, which were openly declared to be designed for the French colonies, but in reality were for the invasion of Great Britain. In a message to Parliament the King bade the country prepare, and the Militia was called up. On intelligence reaching Napoleon of this measure, he waxed indignant, and at a crowded Court at the Tuileries, insulted the British ambassador by threatening him with his uplifted cane. An apology was demanded, but was refused, and, as no satisfactory explanation was made an ultimatum was dispatched, and 200 Dutch and French ships were seized. Napoleon retaliated by apprehending 10,000 persons, British subjects of every class and rank in life who were travellers through and residents in France, and imprisoning them.

Pitt was again summoned to take the helm of State. Spain now joined France, and Austria and Russia Great Britain. In the days that followed a French army were gazing across the narrow Straits from Boulogne to Dover, whilst the British fleet was keeping an unceasing watch and ward. On October 21, 1805, a great naval battle put an end to threats of invasion, Great Britain winning her Trafalgar but losing her Nelson. On land, however, fortune still followed the eagles of France. By December 2 of this year the sun of Austria, already clouded by the capitulation of General Mack at Ulm, sank into black night at Austerlitz. In this eventful autumn two memorable messages were written, which are inscribed in letters of gold on the pages of British history. One by the sailor that "England expects every man will do his duty." The other by the statesman at the Lord Mayor's banquet on November 9, when Pitt, toasted

as the saviour of Europe, quietly said, "Europe is not to be saved by any one man, England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example."

White-haired at forty-six, his health debilitated, the great disaster to the Austrians at Austerlitz proved fatal to him. Removed from Bath, whither he had gone in search of health, on January 9, 1806, to his home at Putney, his eyes lit on a map of Europe on the walls, "Roll up that map," he exclaimed, "it will not be wanted these ten years." He died on the 23rd, nearly his last words being, "Oh, my country, how I leave my country." Twice offered a gift of £100,000 by the London merchants and others, twice he refused it. He also declined a gift of £30,000 from the Privy purse, which the King offered him. On his death the Opposition of all the Talents became the Ministry of the Talents, including Lord Howick, afterwards Earl Grey, Erskine and Fox. Fox did not long survive his rival, he died aged fifty-eight at Devonshire House, Chiswick, having learned at last by experience that with Napoleon peace with honour was impossible.

In 1807 the Ministry of the Talents was dismissed, and the Duke of Portland became Prime Minister, with Percival as Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Canning as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Castlereagh as War Minister, and Lord Eldon Lord Chancellor. Of them Canning was a follower of Pitt. During this administration the Walcheren Expedition, the retreat and death of Sir John Moore, the formation of the Northern Confederacy against Great Britain, and the dramatic capture of the Danish fleet, planned by Canning, occurred. A blockade had been declared against England, and powerful economic measures were introduced by both sides to determine the war, which influenced the course of British trade for years afterwards.

From 1805 to 1808 not quite one-third of our foreign exports were carried to the United States, who sold their produce on the Continent, but purchased their manufactured goods from Great Britain. Consequently they were debtors to Great Britain and creditors of the Continent. To liquidate the balance that was due to Great Britain they paid her Government by bills upon the Treasury, which came as

remittances to British exporters. Funds were thus placed at the disposal of the Government to subsidize Continental armies, and to equip and support the British forces. Without such funds the country would have been drained of gold. In 1806 Napoleon issued from Berlin a famous decree, which declared that all the ports of Great Britain were blockaded. All trade was forbidden, and all articles of British produce or manufacture were to be seized and condemned wherever found. At the time he issued this decree he controlled either directly or indirectly nearly every country in Europe, and his aim was the complete destruction of all British trade. He forbade the importation to the Continent of all the home or colonial products of Great Britain, and of all products unless they were accompanied with a certificate which showed they were of non-British origin. Great Britain replied in 1807 by Orders-in-Council declaring that neutrals should only be entitled to trade with countries not at peace with Great Britain upon their vessels first touching at some port in Great Britain and there paying such Customs duties as should be imposed by the Government. Any neutral vessel found with a Certificate of Origin, which was required by the French Government, should be a lawful prize. On December 17, 1807, Napoleon replied to these orders by his Milan decree that any foreign ship paying a tax or submitting to be searched by a British authority should be denationalized and become a good and lawful prize, and any person aboard such a ship who on arrival at a French port should notify the authorities that the vessel had visited a British port or had submitted to be searched should be entitled to one-third of the net value realized by the sale of the ship and cargo. To circumvent this decree a system was adopted by Great Britain of providing neutrals with forged papers, and this was connived at, if not encouraged, by the British Government. Notwithstanding the great risks trade was still carried on by vessels flying the flags of Papenburg, Oldenburg, and other small places. The United States, unable to adopt this expedient, were effectually excluded from European trade. Ultimately the United States blockaded her own ports and forbade intercourse with the belligerents. But trade was allowed elsewhere, and the resumption of trading relations permitted with

either party on the rescision of the decrees or orders. France was the first to give way, and, soon after, the United States declared war against Great Britain. A result of the blockade by America of her own ports had been to stop trade with England and drain the gold from the country. Gold rose from 80s. per ounce, a figure at which it had been stationary for six years, to 91s. in 1809; to 97s. 6d. in 1811; to 105s. in 1812; and 110s. in 1813, the Mint price being 77s. 10½d. per ounce. Great distress was experienced by Great Britain, and no real relief was obtained till the Continental powers began to throw off the yoke of Napoleon and open their ports to receive the accumulated stocks of British warehouses. Even whilst these decrees were in force British goods had reached the Continent, and Napoleon rewarded his friends by granting them licences to import them. These licences were sold to the French merchants for large sums of money. Whilst the Continental trade had not been altogether destroyed, the American trade had totally stopped by her blockade. The economic effects were far-reaching. Both France and America were compelled to start new industries. The re-establishment of French trade had been begun by the Directory, but real progress was most marked during the Consulate and Empire. Deprived of her sugar, France grew beet; chemistry applied itself to the wants of new industries. The Jacquard loom was invented, and the beautifully devised symmetrical metric system introduced. The conflict of provincial laws was put an end to by the promulgation of the Code Napoleon. New roads and canals were made, and important steps taken to organize the industries of the nation. France was to become a manufacturing centre for all Europe, and the rest of the Continent were to be economic subjects.

Whilst Great Britain continued strictly to enforce her maritime rights by searching American merchant ships for British-born sailors, and impressing them at the will of British officers, the extent of these rights was in dispute. The British claimed that a British-born subject was unable to divest himself of his nationality. After 1798 an alien became an American citizen after fourteen years' residence, but before this date only five years' residence had been required. Sometimes American citizens were impressed by

the British Navy, but more often than not the alleged Americans were British sailors who, attracted by higher pay, had deserted British ships. A political reason, which had induced the United States to declare war on June 18, 1812, was the desire of a certain section of the Republican party to conquer Canada. The New Englanders were opposed to the war; ultimately New York and the Southern States shared their views. At the time war was declared the British forces were heavily engaged in the Peninsular War, and the Navy fully occupied. It was then the great crisis of the struggle with Napoleon. Canada resolutely defended herself, for neither the British population who had been recruited by the United Empire loyalists nor the French-Canadians were willing to become a portion of the American Republic. At first the American Navy met with many important and striking successes on sea. Their frigates were large and more strongly built than the British and were furnished with greater gun-power, and their gunnery was more accurate. The inequality, however, was soon redressed by the dispatching of larger vessels to American waters. The story of the struggle by land is full of absorbing interest; several attempts were made to invade Canada, but they all proved unsuccessful. At one time Toronto, then known as York, was entered by the Americans and its Parliament House set on fire, but in the August of 1814 Washington was occupied by the British and its public buildings burned. The Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814, ended a war begun over questions of neutral rights which were unsettled at the time, and finished with leaving them still unsettled. It has been justly said that of all parties Canada emerged with the greatest honour out of this fratricidal war; she fought to defend her own soil.

For years during the war Great Britain was not united. The influence of the French Revolution undoubtedly paralysed the will for victory. Unmindful of the lessons of the war in Queen Anne's reign, military strength was frittered away in unprofitable expeditions, and no really great effort was made by land till Sir Arthur Wellesley landed in the Peninsula to support the Spanish and Portuguese, who had risen in arms against the French domination. Napoleon's

breach with Russia, his invasion of it, the burning of Moscow, the loss of his legions in the snows of winter ultimately prepared the way for the Allied victory at Leipzig. The invasion of France followed with Napoleon's surrender; his exile at Elba; his return and final defeat at Waterloo. Many were the victorious deeds which were blazoned on the standards of the regiments of the British Army. If we open the gate of the village churchyard, or enter the church, we may read engraved on gravestones or inscribed on marble tablets the names of some of the mighty Englishmen who fought in these wars by land and sea. A generation had nearly passed away from the beginning till the conclusion. Countless British thousands perished on the blood-stained fields of Spain. No inscription on monument or storied urns or gravestone records their death. Their names are now unknown, but their deaths were not in vain; they died that their country might live.

CHAPTER XXIII

1815—1842

DURING the war which finally ended in 1815 the British Fleet preserved the Empire. Peace finished the long struggles between Great Britain and France and the second war between Great Britain and America. Since then France and Great Britain have more than once fought side by side, brothers in arms, learning with greater knowledge to appreciate each other's sterling qualities. No barrier line of forts has ever divided the United States from Canada; and good sense has guaranteed peace. Undisturbed by any European cataclysms until 1914, Great Britain has watched the growth of her Empire, which has been, on the whole, peaceful and beneficial to the world.

By the Treaty of Paris, 1814, Malta and Gozo were ceded to Great Britain, and in the principal square of Valetta the fact was recorded.

MAGNÆ ET INVICTÆ BRITANNIÆ
MILITENSIVM AMOR ET EUROPÆ VOX
HAS INSULAS CONFIRMANT.

In 1795 the British Government had added the foreign settlements in Ceylon to the Presidency of Madras; six years later Ceylon was constituted a separate colony, and in 1815, when the interior districts were acquired, the whole island passed under British rule.

In 1795, when Holland was occupied by the French, Cape Colony was taken possession of by British forces, but it was restored in 1803 at the Peace of Amiens; again taken on the resumption of the war, it was formally ceded to Great Britain by the Convention of London in 1814. In 1807 Gambia had been acquired, but in 1814 the guarantee given to France in 1783 that Fort James and the River Gambia should be given

to Great Britain in consideration of the restoration of Goree and Senegal to France was confirmed. In 1810 Mauritius was acquired by conquest, and was formally ceded to Great Britain in 1814 with the Seychelles, Tobago and St. Lucia. Berbice, Demerara and Essequibo, British Guiana, were added to the Empire. The next year the lonely island of Ascension became British by occupation and was used for purposes of the Admiralty. In 1802 Trinidad, taken from Spain, was permanently annexed. The territorial additions made as a result of the war were small, and although the Empire was far greater in size than after 1783 it was weaker in man-power. Australia was almost untenanted, and the population of Canada was extremely sparse. In India, however, British rule had extended.

Many influences after 1815 were at work to alter the trade system of the United Kingdom, partly through the growth of new ideas advanced by political and social thinkers. The rapid progress of industry led to the development of the factory system, the demand for labour exceeding the supply. The certainty of obtaining employment and means of subsistence caused a large increase of population, which was viewed with the utmost alarm, so that the Rev. Thomas Malthus probably only voiced the general feeling in 1798 when he published his treatise on population which was an attempt to reduce the question to scientific dimensions. During the first half of this century the increase of population had been $17\frac{2}{3}$ per cent., in the last half the increase was over 52 per cent.; from 1779 to 1800 the population is computed to have grown by nearly two million; and between 1801 and 1831 $56\frac{3}{8}$ was the percentage. Over-population, argued Malthus, created great evils, as it grew in a geometrical rate and subsistence only in an arithmetical rate: misery was therefore incidental to the race and could only be limited by the checks of vice and misery; facilities for emigration might have seemed the appropriate remedy but involved a loss of man-power, the man who left England might prove the enemy of to-morrow. No distinction was drawn between those who left their country with friendly feelings and those who were driven out by persecution; no emigration was a policy taught as one of the lessons of the War of Independ~~ence~~

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ence. From Malthus we may turn to Robert Owen, at one time an assistant in a haberdasher's shop on Old London Bridge, who tried to teach the people a better life by providing for them brighter and more wholesome conditions. To accept a policy of "*laissez-faire, laissez-aller*" would leave them to die in want and their children to grow prematurely old before they were young. He opposed the indifference, selfishness and neglect which had received a sort of moral sanction from Malthus by being disguised as an inevitable natural law. *Laissez-faire*, however, was suited to a system where wages were to be fixed by competition, for the greater the surplus the cheaper the price. Practising what he preached during the embargo on cotton in 1806 when the workmen of Lancashire suffered from unemployment, Owen paid his men full wages for four months. The work of Owen interested many members of the Tory party, and at one time he was approached by them. During 1814 to 1824 he opened schools to look after the children of the workers, and he also made provision for the comfort of the workman.

After Waterloo, since Great Britain had helped to save Europe, it was thought considerations of gratitude would open avenues for new trade, especially in Germany, Russia, Spain and Portugal, all her former allies, and none of them were manufacturing on the same scale. Germany and Russia were exporters of raw materials, including large quantities of grain. New avenues of trade not only seemed open, but many of the States of Germany approved, and Goethe and other thinkers and writers led the way to the adoption of British culture. Shakespeare was popularized, and everywhere his plays were received with admiration. Underlying the general growth of goodwill was a feeling that it was necessary to prevent the repetition of another European conflict. This feeling created a tendency to purchase from the Continent, and, with many other factors combined, delayed the development of the British Empire.

Great influence on opinion must be ascribed to Jeremy Bentham, who was born in 1748 in Red Lion Street, Houndsditch. A famous writer on philosophy and law, he reviewed the doctrines of Hobbes, who had argued that whatever the form of government, the sovereign authority, wherever it was

found, must be absolute, and since it was absolute it should meet with no resistance. Bentham distinguished between a legal and a political resistance, justifying the latter. Utility meant the greatest happiness of the greatest number. In conjunction with Mill, the historian of India and the father of John Stuart Mill, he founded Utilitarianism, whence sprang the school of Radicalism. He considered that colonies were of little or no use to the Mother Country. The teachings of Adam Smith, Malthus and Bentham led to the setting in of a current adverse to Empire, and more particularly to the spending of money on its development. A positive hatred, however, to any idea of Empire was displayed by a certain number of political economists such as McCulloch. The curious moral idea was started that when sons grew up they married, set up in business, and never troubled themselves further about their parents. Colonies were likened to children. The people, however, did not burden themselves overmuch with philosophical teachings. When the economical pressure at home became insupportable they emigrated.

After 1815 the country was saddled with a huge burden of debt. France was required to pay a comparatively small indemnity. The commercial and middle classes had been told, when an income tax was first imposed, that it would disappear with peace. The agricultural interests insisted on a reduction of the malt duties. The income tax was repealed and the malt duties reduced, and eighteen millions of taxes at once disappeared. Nearly all raw materials of industry were taxed, such as timber, barilla, hemp, wool, silk, flax, leather and indigo. In 1787 wool had been duty free; in 1803 the tax on imported wool was 5s. 3d. per cwt., and in 1815 6s. 8d. per cwt. In 1816 the duty on foreign wool was further increased by 6d., and that on colonial wool by 1d. The prosperity after the war proved as short as a St. Luke's summer. In 1815 woollen exports were over nine million; by 1826 they had dwindled one-half. In 1814 the official value of cotton exports was over 17 million, but the real value over 20 million; four years later the official value was given as over 18 million, but the real value was under 15 million. Cotton prices also dropped by 1s. 3d.

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a pound. In 1815 the duty on corn was increased to 80s. a quarter to increase production; nevertheless agricultural labourers' wages dropped from 14s. to 10s.

In 1815 trade with the United States was very large, for British goods poured into her markets. During the war she had been compelled to start many new industries. The great inrush now threatened these. A tariff was imposed for three years, at the end of which it was temporarily abandoned, but in 1824 it was reintroduced and became permanent. There was ample unemployed capital in England. France, Spain, Chili, Columbia, Prussia, Peru, Austria, Portugal, Brazil, Buenos Ayres, Greece, Naples and Mexico all were borrowers before the end of 1824, and they obtained money at reasonable rates.

The Treaty of Vienna, which reconstructed Europe after the war, aimed at preventing the rise of any new Napoleonic system. To insure against this small States were incorporated with large. Saxony and Poland, which had joined Napoleon, were divided, but for the partition of Poland Russia and Prussia were responsible, for rather than face a fresh war, Great Britain, France and Austria consented to it, but with the greatest reluctance.

Revolutions broke out in Spain, which spread through Portugal and Naples. The uprising was soon stamped out in Naples by Austria, but in Spain it was successful till France, intervening in 1823, notwithstanding the protests of England, suppressed it. Great Britain, however, acknowledged the revolution which broke out in Spanish America; but if France predominated over Spain in the old world, she could not be allowed to predominate in the new. Canning therefore called in the new world to redress the balance of the old. In 1822 the United States had recognized the independence of Mexico and the provinces of South America formerly under the dominion of Spain, and on December 2 of that year President Monroe, in his message to Congress, declared against the United States entangling herself in the broils of Europe or suffering the Powers of the old world to interfere with the new. Any attempt on the part of the European Powers "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere" would be regarded by the United States

“as dangerous to our peace and safety and would accordingly be opposed.”

In Portugal King John VI had promised his people a better constitution, which he gave them, but, encouraged by the near presence of a French Army, the absolutists threatened trouble. The King appealed to Great Britain for assistance, and a British Fleet was sent to the Tagus. A fresh rebellion subsequently breaking out, notwithstanding the grant of a Constitutional Government, British troops were dispatched to Lisbon and the absolutists crushed.

With the recognition of the independence of Mexico and the American colonies of Spain, a wave of speculation in England sprang up, perhaps encouraged by the incautious optimism of the Board of Trade. The silver mines of South America and Mexico could be opened up. Vast sums of English money were now devoted to this enterprise, for by the import of silver from America there appeared to be unlimited means for paying for British goods. The year 1825 opened prosperously, but a serious financial crisis soon arose. In anticipation of a great new trade immense quantities of goods had been purchased with a view to future profitable sales, and money was lent to assist the speculation by the private banks throughout the country. Anticipations were not realized. Many bubble mining companies burst and credit was contracted. In six weeks more than sixty banks closed their doors. This financial crisis was followed by a great trade depression which lasted some years.

Between 1824 and 1826 the Navigation Acts were altered in the case of all nations willing to remove restrictions on trade done by British vessels. A number of reciprocity treaties opened the ports of Great Britain to the ships of other nations. Colonial ports, however, were still reserved.

A fall in prices began in 1826. In 1824 the price of the best Newcastle coal on the London Exchange was 33s. 4d. per ton; it dropped to 23s. 6d. in 1825, but again rose in 1827 to 28s. 3d.; after that it fell till it reached 17s. 3d. per ton in 1845, when the output was greatly increased. The general fall in prices was accompanied with lower wages, trade depression, increased pauperism and unemployment.

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To defend themselves against the lowering of wages the working classes formed themselves into a Trade Union based on the belief in a national confederation of workers, and not merely of separate unions for separate trades. The Grand General Union of the United Kingdom, a national confederation, soon fell to pieces. It was followed by a national association for the protection of labour to prevent reductions of wages, but not necessarily to procure advances. National expenditure constantly diminished, falling from a hundred to fifty-two millions per annum, and with lower prices the purchasing power of money greatly increased. Some causes of the long trade depression may be referred to. Loanable money was plentiful in 1825, when 3 per cent. Consols stood at 95; but for years there had been no feeling of confidence between employer and workmen. In 1811-12 the Luddite movement broke out among the frame workers. In 1815 houses, barns and rickyards were fired in Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon and Cambridge, and forcible attempts were made in South Wales to prevent the working of forges.

In 1818 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and an attempt to hold a meeting in Manchester, declared illegal, was put down with ill-considered violence by the military at Peterloo. In 1820 the Cato Street conspiracy was revealed; it was a plot to assassinate the members of the Cabinet at dinner at Lord Harrowby's in Grosvenor Square. These displays of violence led to reaction and measures for keeping order. Much of the trouble had originated from an Act passed in 1799, and amended in 1800, to prevent unlawful combinations of workmen. The old system of allowing justices to fix wages in trades had then generally fallen into abeyance. By these Acts, the Combination Acts, workmen were deprived of a powerful means of defence against oppression by the prohibition of any attempt on their part to join in collective bargaining. The working classes, having no vote, were unable to present their legitimate grievances to Parliament, and to some no other method seemed open but violence; the majority, however, pressed for the extension of the franchise. The Acts against unlawful combinations were repealed in 1825; but following their repeal a number of strikes broke out, which temporarily

put an end to hopes of better relations. Hundreds of thousands of workmen in all trades lost their employment. From 1829 to 1842, notwithstanding the freedom of combination, Trade Unionism became involved in radical and socialistic agitations.

A further hindrance to prosperity was the demoralizing effects of the Poor Law system. From 1783 to 1785 the sum spent on Poor Law relief was a little over two millions, but by 1815 it was over five millions. The system of outdoor relief for able-bodied persons was in full force. Sometimes it took the form of supplying the able-bodied with food or fuel; sometimes they were exempted from paying rates; at other times grants were given to assist in the payment of rent and supplement low wages. A ratepayer was compelled, according to the value of his assessment, to employ a certain number of pauper labourers, and even to dismiss free labour to make room for them. In some places pauper labour was sold by auction. According to the Poor Law report of 1834, the unemployed at Yardley, near Hastings, were put up to sale weekly, and the vicar of the parish stated that he had seen ten men knocked down at auction to farmers at five shillings a-piece. In the country districts generally low wages were supplemented by the parish dole.

By the Poor Law Act of 1834 the workhouse test was restored, Poor Law commissioners appointed, and parishes combined for purposes of administration into Unions. This Act was only gradually put into force, but ultimately elected guardians were chosen, and the commissioners gave place to the Poor Law Board. In 1832 over £7,000,000 was spent in relief on a population of little over 14 millions; five years later, although the population had increased by more than a million, £4,000,000 less was expended.

Many diverse currents of thought existed during and after the war with France; the majority of the nation feared a revolution. One section of the Tory party believed in the suppression of all popular movements by force; another section, following Canning, a disciple of Pitt, were imbued with far more liberal ideas. A powerful group in the country of the Whig party, recruited from the manufacturing classes,

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strenuously advocated that the State should not interfere with industrial conditions. From 1821 to 1830 there was no material improvement in trade, for whilst the official valuation of imports showed that they had increased from 30 to 40 millions, and that of exports from 37 to 60 millions, their declared or real value remained pretty steady at about 37 millions. Any improvement was due to remissions of taxation—mostly of excise duties—the lowering of duties on raw materials, and the reduction of the rates of interest on the debt. In 1822 £150,000,000 5 per cent. stock were converted into 4 per cents.; in 1824 £76,000,000 old 4 per cents. were reduced to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cents.; and in 1830 £153,000,000 4 per cents. were converted into $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cents. Gloomy or bright trade years generally resulted from bad or bountiful harvests. Europe was at peace from 1820 to 1842, but industrial competition on the Continent was growing severer.

All through a feeling of the greatest exasperation continued to exist between employers and workmen, times were hard. Many employers, springing from the ranks of the workmen, had, by incessant toil and saving, accumulated just enough capital to start a factory, sometimes even by joining two cottages together, and the slender profits did not permit the payment of high wages. They were told by the merchants that they could not sell their goods unless the price was low. As raw materials were then purchased abroad, no abatement of price was possible. The wool imported from Germany was competed for both by Holland and France. The manufacturers therefore had no choice but to close their mills or lower wages, for they had insufficient capital to await better times. As wages began to fall the home market suffered from wage earners having less to spend. In connection with the story of fierce competition among the small masters and the process of lowering wages we may turn to the factories and the hours of labour worked.

Factory legislation began in 1802 by an Act (42 Geo. III, c. 73) introduced by Sir Robert Peel to limit hours worked in the cotton mills. They were then reduced to twelve, exclusive of meal times, for which three hours were allowed. Provision was made by this Act for the cleansing and airing of rooms

and the instruction of apprentices in reading and writing. A subject which had early engaged attention was the employment of young children in factories. They were often sent to work at five or six years of age in the spinning trade, and were worked fourteen to fifteen hours a day. By an Act of 1819 the age at which children might be employed was fixed at nine. This Act met with strong opposition on the ground that it would drive trade out of the country. In Manchester in 1825 a customary working day was one of over fourteen hours; the greater number of mills then allowed half an hour for breakfast and fifty minutes to one hour for dinner. The children, however, were frequently detained during meal-times to clean the machinery. By an Act of 1825 it was declared that no person under sixteen should work more than twelve hours a day, exclusive of one hour and a half for meal-times. The Act was not readily enforced, although a fine was imposed for any infringement of its provisions, and the fine was given to the informer. No operative, however, who gave information could afterwards obtain employment in a factory. He became a marked man. The workmen, however, were often largely to blame; for they joined hands with their employers in defence of the employment of child labour. Why, they argued, should they not do what they liked with their own? They had been through the mill. Many operatives who were prematurely old and physically exhausted looked for support from their children. The tally system was still in force. Instead of money wages, tickets were given to a workman entitling him to purchase his goods at some shop or store often run in the interest of the employer. The value of wages was lessened by the restriction to one shop. The workman did not, however, suffer from the capitalist system, but from its absence, for many employers who possessed greater resources were able to purchase improved machinery and to build better factories. They were willing to improve the conditions of labour, and Robert Owen had demonstrated that this could be done.

During this trying period the gentle voice of humanity was never absent from the land. It was heard in 1808, when the slave trade was declared illegal; again in 1824, when the

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slaver was pronounced a pirate and a squadron was stationed off the coast of Africa to stop the traffic; again in 1833 it sounded when Great Britain passed an Act which freed the slaves and partially compensated the planters for their loss by allocating them a sum of twenty millions. Slavery had existed so many centuries that the Law had recognized property in the slave.

Cries of joy were raised when Greece successfully struggled for her liberty. Lord Byron in his noble words reminded her of her ancient freedom, and ultimately her independence was attained, with British assistance. The partition of Poland had also always been a source of grief to this nation. When the Poles broke into insurrection in 1830 and proclaimed their independence of Russia, the English people sorrowed with them on the ultimate riveting of their chains, but they could give them no practical assistance, as Great Britain was bound by the terms of the Treaty of Vienna.

Inventors were hammering out the problem of how steam could be applied to methods of locomotion and traction. In 1820 the coasting vessel was relied upon for the carriage of goods from seaport to seaport, and the slowly-moving horse-drawn barge or the toiling wagon for their distribution inland. The stage coach rattled its way along the great highways with its passengers, parcels and mails summer and winter, night and day, through towns and villages. But wonderful changes were coming. In 1802 the *Charlotte Dundas*, the first steam-tug, was at work on the Forth and Clyde Canal; and Trevethick in Cornwall, Blackett and others were experimenting with steam trams. On September 27, 1825, the Stockton and Darlington Railway was opened. On September 15, 1830, Robert Stephenson, after years of waiting, watching and experimenting, ran the "Rocket," his steam engine, on the railway line between Manchester and Liverpool. Before the opening of this railway twenty-two regular and seven occasional extra coaches, drawn by horses, ran between Manchester and Liverpool. The fares charged were, 10s. inside, 5s. outside. The railway fares were, 5s. inside, 3s. 6d. in open carriages. The coach took four hours, the railway one and three-quarter hours. The

goods rate by canal was 15s. per ton, by rail 10s. 8d. Sometimes the canals were congested for days. From 1801 to 1825 £1,263,000 capital was raised for railway building; from 1826 to 1843 over £79,000,000; and in 1844, the year but one before the great railway boom, £15,000,000. The rapid interchange of goods through the construction of railways revolutionized trade and industry. Not only were coal, iron and steel required for their construction, but wood, glass, leather and a multitude of other things. They repaid the debt by carrying coal to the manufacturer, goods to the sea-ports, manure to the farm. They developed new coalfields and agriculture and employed more labour. By shortening delays the consumer was able to obtain his goods more quickly and sell them more quickly. Time was gained by lessening the period of transport in every process of industry. The employer, by turning over his capital, increased his business and his profits, enabling him to pay better wages. With increasing wages the home market was stimulated. The railway came about through the inventive genius of an Englishman. The inventor was the captain; capital followed the leader; the great army of labour enjoyed the benefit.

From 1830 to 1840 conditions were slowly improving. In 1837 a young Queen came to the throne. We journey through the England of Charles Dickens, William and Mary Howitt and other teachers. The Reform Act of 1832, which had put an end to the rotten boroughs and enlarged the franchise, failed to produce the better economic conditions expected. The country was still rent with strikes of the worst description.

Silver had been originally the standard coin. Ultimately gold was preferred. Both were legal tender up to 1816. From time to time their relative values were fixed by proclamations—the laws of supply and demand have affected gold and silver. In 1816 gold was declared the sole standard of value. Until then the guinea, or twenty-one shilling piece, was the current gold coin, but by proclamation on July 1, 1817, the sovereign was put into circulation. A gold standard, however, was not adopted by other countries till years afterwards. At the beginning of the eighteenth century one pound of gold was equivalent to thirty pounds of silver;

at the beginning of the nineteenth forty-five pounds. Silver constantly fell in value. Banking was now undergoing important changes. Cash payments had been suspended by the Bank of England during the war with France, although bank notes which could not be converted into coin were made legal tender. The financial crisis of 1825 led to the Bank of England opening new branches at Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham and elsewhere. Banking facilities were sorely needed. An Act, the 3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 98, was passed, which allowed joint stock companies to carry on banking business at any place sixty-five miles distant from London, and in London subject to certain restrictions. By means of this in 1834 the London and Westminster Bank was able to open its doors. The London Joint Stock, the Union Bank and others followed. The great changes, such as better transport, strict economy and banking facilities, caused no substantial increase in foreign trade. Although the official values showed that a greater number of articles were exported, the declared values showed but slight improvements. In 1842 the official value of exports was £113,841,802, the real or declared value £47,381,023, the real value then being less than the value of the exports in the year 1815, when they were declared at £49,653,245, the official value then being £57,420,437.

The Corn Laws of 1815 were modified by the Act 9 Geo. IV, c. 60, which imposed a sliding scale of duties on foreign wheat based upon the average price of British wheat. When wheat was 62s. and under 63s., the duty was £1 4s. 8d. a quarter; when 63s. and under 64s., the duty was £1 3s. 8d. a quarter. As the price rose a shilling the duty diminished a shilling. When the price reached 67s. and was under 68s., the duty diminished 2s. Preference was accorded to wheat imported from British possessions in North America or elsewhere outside Europe. Five shillings was charged on colonial wheat till British wheat reached 67s. On its touching that figure the duty on colonial wheat was 6d. The preference was of small value. The population of Canada was scanty and her great wheat areas undeveloped. During the five years ending with 1815 the average price of English wheat was £4 14s. 3d. a quarter; during the five

years 1826-30 it was £3 1s. 7d. a quarter; and during the five years 1841-45 it was £2 14s. 9d. a quarter.

The United States of America were stretching great arms westward. In 1832 Chicago contained about a dozen families besides the officers and soldiers of a stockade fort. In 1840 her population was over 4,000. Thirty-six years later it was over 410,000. To the call of freedom America opened wide her doors. From 1825 to 1845 628,171 persons left Great Britain for the United States, and 563,189 sailed to British North America. Australia and New Zealand now made their call—121,995 passed to these new lands.

To meet the great war debt economy had been strictly practised by Great Britain. In 1834 expenditure had been lower than that of any year since 1815. The redemption of the slaves, the war with China and the troubles in Canada and Natal increased expenditure. The interest on the debt about 1842 was £29,500,000, and the cost of the Army and Navy £14,750,000. The civil list and civil government amounted to £4,700,000, and the collection and expense of the revenue to £2,767,000. Revenue from taxes amounted to £50,250,000, and the surplus from the Post Office to £300,000. In 1842 we may regard Great Britain still as poor with much of her capital unemployed, her population increasing and her trade slowly growing. There was often a large deficiency of revenue. Ireland was now living on potatoes, and the British loaf, no longer the big loaf of George III, had been reduced to 4 lbs., yet the Empire was a great Empire clinging closely to its ideals, and its sowers were sedulously sowing the seeds of a greater Empire, preparing the way for a greater trade and a more prosperous people.

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duties continued to be imposed on commodities which came from foreign countries and on those which came from British possessions, a difference generally amounting to half the duty, but in some cases much more. Thus, while foreign wines paid a duty of 5s. 9d. the gallon, wines from the Cape of Good Hope paid no more than 2s. 9d. per gallon.

When Sir Robert Peel altered the Bank Charter London had been for many years the money market of the world, and the United Kingdom possessed the only gold standard. To prevent the precious metals leaving the country at various periods European nations had prohibited their export. This system in peace time had been followed by a system of regulating the efflux of bullion by raising the Bank of England rate of interest to restrict credits and stop excessive foreign purchases. In 1825 a financial crisis had occurred through (1) the investment of British money in the silver mines of South America, where it was lost; (2) the large purchases of foreign commodities which had been made on borrowed money in anticipation of their re-sale to South America. The failure of this speculation has already been referred to. By its charter the Bank of England possessed the sole right to issue its notes within a certain radius of London. Outside this radius private banks were at liberty to issue theirs. In 1832 Bank of England notes had been made legal tender, but a like privilege was not conferred upon private banks. When the question of renewing the Bank of England charter, which expired in 1833, was discussed in 1832 by a secret committee, inquiry was made as to the system on which banks of issue in England and Wales were conducted. Three improvements resulted from the inquiry—the publication of the accounts of the Bank of England, the amount of bullion held by it, and the partial adoption of the principle of currency, by which the circulation of the Bank of England and that of the country banks should be regulated in accordance with the conditions of the foreign exchanges. Although the Bank charter was continued in 1833, by 3 & 4 Will. IV, c. 98, it was to be subject to dissolution if a year's notice was given on August 1, 1845. Meanwhile, a great expansion was taking place in the industry of the United States, especially in railway construction. On May 24, 1830, the first section of the

Baltimore Railway, the first American railway ever constructed, was opened. By 1842 the twenty-three miles of American railway existing in 1830 had grown to 4,000. In England, during the years 1835 to 1837, 300 to 400 companies, with a total subscribed capital of over £100,000,000, had been started. These were mostly sound undertakings, including the Great Northern, the London and South Western, the South Eastern, and the London, Brighton Railway Companies, and many mining and insurance companies.

Up till 1835 the United States possessed a Federal Bank, where monopoly, the subject of bitter attacks, led this year to a refusal to renew its charter. American banks increased from 506 in 1834 to 677 in 1837. They issued their own notes, but, unlike the English banks, they could legally decline to honour them so long as they paid the holders 24 per cent. interest. The United States Government was disposing of large tracts of land in the west and south-west which had given rise to a lively speculation. President Jackson directed the receivers of public money not to accept payment from purchasers except in specie, or in bank notes immediately convertible into specie. To meet this sudden demand for specie, bullion began to be withdrawn from the eastern to the western States. To stop the flow the rate of interest was raised, loans were called in, and banks were compelled to reduce their circulation. A wild panic seized the commercial community. Everywhere cash payments were suspended, and in New York alone 250 houses failed. The commercial transactions of the United States with England at this time were carried on principally on credit through the medium of six houses in London and one at Liverpool, and they were under acceptance for £15,000,000, with no security but American bills. To stop gold leaving the country the Bank raised the rate of interest, a panic followed, many bankruptcies, and the closing of factories in Lancashire. In Manchester alone 50,000 persons became unemployed.

Whilst different theories were publicly advanced as to the causes of these crises, Sir Robert Peel had no doubt but that they were due to the export of bullion. He therefore introduced an Act which aimed at securing a certain relation between paper currency and bullion. "We want

only a certain quantity of paper," he said, "not, indeed, a fixed and definite nominal amount, but just such a quantity of paper, and that only, as shall be equivalent in point of value to the coin which it represents." "If we admit the principle of a metallic standard, and admit that the paper currency ought to be regulated by immediate reference to foreign exchanges—that there ought to be early contractions of paper on the efflux of gold—we might, I think, with reason, without the aid of experience, argue that an unlimited competition in respect of issue will not afford a security for the proper regulation of the paper currency." An Act reformed the Bank charter by dividing the Bank of England into two departments—one for the purpose of carrying on the ordinary business of banking, the other for the issue of notes. Bullion was transferred to the issuing department and the issue of notes restricted to an issue of £14,000,000 upon securities, the remainder of the issue being governed in amount by the fluctuations in the stock of bullion. If through circumstances the Bank was called upon to provide a larger sum in notes or specie than the notes held in the banking department, permission had to be obtained from the Government to suspend the Act to allow the demand to be met whatever the amount of specie might be in the issue department.

Notwithstanding this banking reform, a fresh financial crisis occurred, which left Sir Robert Peel with no option but either to repeal or suspend the Corn Laws. In 1845 trade was showing a marked improvement, the railway boom had reached its height, and railway shares were advancing by leaps and bounds; Great Western shares, that in January had stood at £156, by September had touched £228. During 1846 bullion at the Bank was steadily increasing, and on August 29 it was £16,000,000. The bank rate was as low as $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in all fields of enterprise the country seemed rich with the promise of a fruitful trade harvest. The substitution of steam power for water power was now being rapidly effected and the iron and coal fields developed. The steamship now appeared. The *Comet* first sailed on the Clyde on January 18, 1812; by 1814 five steam vessels plied Scottish waters, and a year later saw the first

steam vessel on the Thames. Nine years later the General Steam Navigation Company's boats were working between the East Coast ports and Holland and Germany. In 1835 steamers travelled between Bombay and Suez. Two years later the Peninsular Company was carrying mails to Alexandria. In 1840 the Peninsular-Oriental Company was incorporated, and mails and passengers were carried from London to Bombay, partly overland across the Isthmus of Suez, thus shortening the journey to India by twenty-eight days. In 1839 the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company obtained its charter. On July 4, 1840, the *Britannia*, the first vessel of the Cunard fleet, steamed from England to Boston. New inventions were bridging the wide spaces of the world by land and by sea. g

In 1837 Cooke and Wheatstone patented a five-needle telegraph, which was soon put to practical use. Bain invented the electric telegraph with a printing apparatus which recorded the results in ink type, and in 1843 wires were suspended by posts. Three years later the Electric Telegraph Company was incorporated. A submarine telegraph was first laid from Gosport to Portsmouth, next Dublin and Holyhead were linked. On September 27, 1851, France telegraphed to England. Early in the century the lowest general post rate was fourpence—a letter to Edinburgh cost 1s. 1d. The general average cost of letters was 7d. to 7½d. A single letter meant a single sheet of paper not exceeding an ounce in weight; any additional enclosure, however small, constituted a double letter. For letters of over an ounce the charge was fourfold. On January 10, 1840, a reform, strenuously urged by Sir Rowland Hill, was effected, and the penny postage came into existence. The postage stamp was introduced in the following May.

In 1845 the Navigation Acts were consolidated. There was thus apparently nothing to indicate the great changes impending. Between 1848 and 1852 these Acts were all repealed. At first an offer was made to the United States by Great Britain to throw open her coasting trade if the United States threw open hers, but as the offer was declined for a time the project was abandoned. By 1854 the navigation of the coasts of the United Kingdom was thrown

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open to the world and the manning of British ships left free for any nationality.

In 1845 a shadow had begun to spread over the rising sun of prosperity, a shadow which not only extended over Ireland, but over Belgium, Holland, France, and West Germany. The potato disease appeared. In 1845 Indian corn was purchased by the Government to relieve the distress at a time when the Anti-Corn Law League was strenuously urging the total repeal of the Corn Laws. In 1846 the average price of wheat was £2 14s. 8d. a quarter; from an average of £3 8s. 11d. in January, 1847, it rose to £4 12s. 10d. in June, then it rapidly fell, touching £2 10s. by the autumn. In 1846 Sir Robert Peel passed an Act to repeal the Corn Laws, providing for a reduction of the duties for three years. In 1849 all duties were to cease except the nominal one of a shilling a quarter. During 1846 Ireland experienced a terrible famine. To deal with starvation and distress relief committees were promptly formed, relief works instituted to employ labour, and a loan of £8,000,000 raised. All classes of Englishmen, especially the Quakers, vied in their brotherly efforts to alleviate the misery, and the United States Government, not deaf to the voice of humanity, sent two ships of war to Ireland laden with provisions. A third of the Irish people were actually on the verge of starvation. The urgent necessity now precluded even the postponement of the repeal of the Corn Laws till 1849. Three Acts were pushed through Parliament in January and February, 1847, for the suspension of all duties on the importation of corn, buckwheat, meal, maize and Indian corn, and were subsequently re-enacted. The sudden and unexpected demand for grain had far outstripped the normal supply of the country, which till then had kept pace relatively with the natural increase of the population, although from 1815 there had been generally a deficiency of from one to two million quarters. To pay for imports gold left the country, and the bank rate rapidly rose. In January, 1847, it was 3½ per cent., on August 5 5½ per cent., on October 25 8 per cent.; on October 1 it was announced that no advances would be made even on public security. By October 16 the Bank reserve had dwindled to

a little over £3,000,000, and by the 30th it was down to £1,600,000. The bank rate was then suspended; consols, which had stood at 95¾ in 1846, had dropped to 82, and the country was in the throes of a financial crisis.

A certain amount of gold had been mined in America for years, but the output was small. The average annual world production in 1831 to 1840 was no more than 674,200 ozs., and this was principally derived from Russia. At the close of 1847 Marshall, who was a contractor for the construction of a sawmill for Captain Sutter, in California, removed a mill wheel to allow the water to rush from the dam to widen the race and dislodge the earth. His eyes were attracted by specks of gold, and, on examination, the soil literally teemed with gold. The precious metal, of whose existence Drake was aware, eluding the search of the Spanish for centuries, was now discovered by an accident. Immediately a great gold rush began.

On September 1, 1851, licences to dig for gold were issued by the Government of Victoria, Australia, but evidence of the existence of gold, however, had been known for some time before this date.

Two immense new goldfields opened nearly simultaneously to meet the world's demands. Six million pounds' worth of gold had been produced in 1846. By 1852 the world's production was £30,000,000 and the supply of silver was increased by £2,000,000. The relative values of the metals were at once affected, a pound of gold becoming equivalent to £5 of silver. The world's stock of gold in 1848 was computed as being £560,000,000. By 1860 it had increased by £240,000,000. Thousands of people rushed to the California diggings. San Francisco nearly emptied itself, and the population of California grew enormously. Somewhat similar effects were witnessed in Victoria, where the labourer left the plough and the shepherd the flock, the seaman the ship and the shopkeeper the store, to try his luck in the alluvial goldfields of Bendigo and Ballarat. The population of Victoria increased from 80,000 to 400,000 in about five years, and Melbourne by 100,000 inhabitants. In 1851 195,000 tons' worth of shipping had cleared her ports; in 1852 the tonnage was 1,386,000. Exports which in 1850

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had been £774,000, five years later were valued at £15,489,000. From 1851 to 1869 the export of Australian gold was £148,000,000, and from 1851 to 1870 the United States exported nearly £200,000,000. It has been considered that when silver was discovered in America by the Spanish it had taken seventy to eighty years to distribute it through Europe, but the Californian and Victorian gold was almost immediately distributed.

In 1848 Europe was in a state of great unrest. The King of France, raised by one revolution to a throne, was hurled from it by another, and in February was a fugitive. On March 13 the people of Vienna rose and defeated the Government troops. Venice threw off the Austrian yoke and Milan drove the Austrian troops from the city. Hungary threw off her shackles. The Pope escaped from Rome, and Germany, Poland, Denmark, Spain and Wallachia were all scenes of riots and insurrections. Ireland bordered on war. The Chartists in London assembled to present to Parliament their monster petition of 2,000,000 signatures. Troops were prepared, and thousands of special constables enrolled to stop what seemed a threatened revolution. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, to meet an impending deficit, proposed the imposition of a shilling income tax, but trade suddenly turned the corner and the deficit was faced with equanimity. In 1847 the total British exports were officially valued at £146,172,000; the real value was declared at £58,842,000. Two years later they were officially valued at £190,000,000, and the real value at £63,596,000. After the gold discoveries exports were officially valued in 1853 at £242,000,000, the real value at £98,934,000. Prosperity was not confined to the United Kingdom; it extended throughout the world.

The Corn Laws failed in their object of making England self-supporting. The duty of 80s. in 1815 stimulated production, but, with increased production, the average price of wheat fell. Its great rise came during the Irish famine. After the repeal of the Corn Laws the price of wheat had dropped to £1 18s. 6d. per quarter in 1851. Having regard to the general fall of prices which had occurred in all industries, the price of wheat had been undoubtedly too high. The great disaster which overtook agriculture occurred years

afterwards, and was due to the enormous quantities of grain exported by the United States. The Corn Laws neither afforded the farmer the security of tenure that he needed, nor ensured the objects for which they were passed. No legislation protected the farmer's improvements, nor was the protection given him subject to any guarantee that its object would be attained. Elizabethan legislation had forced the farmer to lay down arable land. The legislation of William III encouraged him to do so by a bounty. The Corn Laws taught him the lesson that under-production rather than over-production was the best way to secure a good price for his corn.

A Free Trade policy continued to be carried out by Mr. Gladstone. His first Customs Act in 1853 drew no broad distinction between foreign goods and those coming from British possessions, and the duty on manufactured or partly manufactured goods was lowered to 10 per cent. Certain foreign goods, however, such as boots and shoes, linen and cotton manufactures, musical instruments, silk manufactures, and clocks and watches, were still subject to duties. His second Customs Act of 1860 ended the 10 per cent. duties on manufactured or partly manufactured goods, but excepted certain specified articles. Just before its passing a commercial treaty had been negotiated by Cobden with France which committed the country to lower duties for French wines, brandies and certain manufactures. This treaty was originally intended as a measure of reciprocity, but was turned by Mr. Gladstone into one of free trade. The rates of duty on the import of foreign and colonial timber were still further reduced and equalized. The Act of 1860 was almost the final triumph of the Free Trade movement, and since this date Free Trade has been the established policy of the country.

At the time Free Trade was adopted the United Kingdom was the greatest manufacturing country in the world, and her goods were better and cheaper than those of other countries. France was a protected country, and Germany was just creating industries behind the shield of Protection. List, a German economist, who had studied the works of Alexander Hamilton in the United States, returned to

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Germany in 1832 and urged the construction of railways and the formation of a commercial Zollverein, which was soon brought into existence. Arguing against the abstract teaching of Adam Smith, he insisted that a nation's trade must always be determined by its special circumstances and the degree of its development. The creation of German industries did not affect the industries of the United Kingdom till after the Franco-German war, when Germany, who had copied the protective system of Great Britain, entered the lists as a competitor for world trade. In 1871 she adopted a gold standard.

The effect of the alteration in the trade policy of the Empire was considerable. Huskisson and Canning had favoured differential dues for the colonies. In 1838 Lord John Russell returned to the old Whig idea of restricting colonial trade with foreign nations and compelling the colonies to receive the goods of the Mother Country. In 1843 the imposition of differential duties by one colony against another was prohibited. The repeal of the Corn Laws placed the colonial and foreign grain trade in the same position. Considerable loss was occasioned to Canada and to the sugar islands by the new policy, and outside Great Britain regret was openly expressed. The colonies soon determined to fashion their own trade policy according to their needs. New Brunswick gave a bounty on the growing of hemp. Although her act was ratified, it was stated that in future any measures which imposed differential duties would be vetoed by the Crown; but from 1859 the right of a colony to frame its own tariff was impliedly conceded, and at the present time there is no declared Empire trade policy.

CHAPTER XXV

THE GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE (1815—1920)

AT the beginning of the nineteenth century the extremely sparse population of Canada was almost entirely confined to the eastern seaboard. On the western coast Captain Cook in the third of his voyages had, as we know, discovered Vancouver Island, but he and navigators who followed him believed it was part of the mainland till Captain Vancouver, in 1792, revealed that it was an island. In 1789 Alexander Mackenzie, starting on a long journey to penetrate the mysteries of the far North-West, skirted the great Slave Lake and descended the river called after him Mackenzie. He reached the Arctic Seas in latitude 69 N. on July 15. On July 10, 1792, he set out to reach the Pacific, and was the first white man to cross the Rocky Mountains. Arriving at the ocean near Cape Menzies on June 22, 1793, he inscribed the date on a rock. In 1803 David Thompson, following in his footsteps, named the country Mackenzie had discovered New Caledonia; population began to trickle into it but very slowly.

In 1813, in what is now the province of Manitoba, the Red River Settlement was formed. After 1815 the population of Canada steadily increased by immigration. The Irish, who before 1815 were content to emigrate to Newfoundland, began to arrive in fair numbers. A great number of British half-pay army and navy officers built themselves new homes by the shores of the beautiful lakes; English settlers arrived from the villages of Surrey and Sussex, from Petworth and its neighbourhood, and in 1826 a number of working men came from Renfrew and Lanark, many others, also, from the Highlands of Scotland.

Canada suffered during the Napoleonic wars, more particularly from the struggle with the United States. Her resources were then slender and the war left her with a burden

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of debt. Between 1830 and 1840 there was considerable dissatisfaction, the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada being convulsed by struggles of a similar nature to those which once rent England. The Canadians were now anxious to manage their own domestic affairs, while Upper Canada was loyal. Even loyalty was weakening by mismanagement and misunderstandings with the home authorities. In Lower Canada the French population were seeking separation. The British were discontented, insurrections not unknown, and even a small war broke out. The constitution of 1791 as the country progressed had proved unsuitable; in 1840 Upper and Lower Canada were reunited. Responsible government, although it was not granted in express terms by this constitution, was tacitly conceded.

So late as 1867 the western provinces of Canada were still divided from the eastern provinces by the enormous territories of the Hudson Bay Company, which were then ranged by the trapper and hunter in search of furs and game. In the north, East Alaska was purchased from Russia by the United States in 1867; in 1856 the discovery of gold on the Fraser River led to a rush there. The territory, New Caledonia, where the gold was discovered, belonged to the Hudson Bay Company, but in August, 1858, it was formed into a British colony under the name of British Columbia and separated from the colony of Vancouver. In 1866 they were united under the name of British Columbia. In 1867 another event took place, one of the greatest in the history of Canada, her Union. Four of her provinces joined a confederation, consisting of the two Canadas—Ontario and Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; they all agreed on the necessity of constructing a railway to connect the river St. Lawrence with the city of Halifax. It was built and completed by 1876. In 1871 British Columbia joined the Dominion, induced to do so by the promise of a railway to link east and west. This magnificent railway, the Canadian Pacific, was constructed and finished five years before the time fixed for its completion. In 1873 Prince Edward Island became a member. One factor which had brought about Canadian union was the urgent problem of defence, which has always been the basis of national cohesion since the days of ancient

Greece: Fenians had raided her from the United States. Since Union her progress has been marvellous; and before the introduction of the railway her development was slow, she extended from town to town with the measured pace of the horse; with the coming of the iron horse she galloped forward. The 'forties were years of great railway plans, the 'fifties of completions; in 1854 a railway line ran from Hamilton to Niagara; two years later trains travelled from Montreal to Toronto. With the building of railways came the workmen who constructed them, afterwards settling on the adjacent land and building townships. In 1869 the territory of the old Hudson Bay Company was purchased by the Dominion Government, and in 1870 the province of Manitoba was carved out of it, two new provinces, Saskatchewan and Alberta, being created in 1904. For some years before 1878 Canada had found that some of her best artisans were deserting her for the United States; in consequence her industries were suffering and her trade languishing; she accordingly adopted a policy of protection which has ever since been the dominional policy; she grants a substantial preference in favour of British goods. During the last forty years striking changes have transformed the face of the Dominion; thousands of acres of prairie land have been converted into fields of golden grain; her population has steadily increased from decade to decade, but with especial rapidity in the years antecedent to August, 1914. In 1870 Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba, possessed barely 200 inhabitants, but in 1910 its population was 135,000, in 1914 it exceeded 150,000. Edmonton, the capital of Alberta, a small post of the North-West Company, in 1778 used for transmitting peltry by oxen and pony carts over a thousand miles to the nearest civilization, in 1896 was still no more than a hamlet; ten years later its population was over 10,000, and 1916 found its population close on 60,000. Down the fast-flowing Saskatchewan River, first reached by traders from Montreal in 1756 and by servants of the Hudson Bay Company ten years later, boats carried furs and beaver skins procured from the Arctic regions about the Mackenzie River for ultimate transmission to Europe. To-day the province of Saskatchewan is a growing centre of the fur trade, and the population of its capital—Regina—between

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1905 and 1907 nearly doubled. An up-country Canadian absent for twenty years would find on his return that where the few lonely homesteads he knew had stood, a town as if by magic had sprung up; where once the flame of his torch had lit his way by night the electric light now guided him; down the long track he once walked the tramcar swiftly glided, and where once the solitude of nature had awed him was the roar of busy life. The field that exists for enterprise in Canada is enormous, for in area it nearly equals the whole of Europe.

Whilst no pen can do adequate justice to the extraordinary progress of Canada, neither can it chronicle the marvellous advance of Australia. In 1803 the colonization of Tasmania began. In 1831 Tasmanians, reaching Port Philip, two years later founded a city first named Williamstown after King William IV, which was subsequently renamed Melbourne after Queen Victoria's Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne. Port Philip for some years was a part of New South Wales, but in 1842 it became a distinct district; in December, 1825, Oxley discovered a river which was called Brisbane in a country which is now included in the State of Queensland but which was then part of New South Wales. Before Oxley's discovery little was known of a land five and a half times the size of the United Kingdom. In 1829 some British colonists leaving England formed, at the Swan River, a new settlement, the nucleus of Western Australia. In 1830 the ideas of Edward Gibbon Wakefield on colonization were recognized by the establishment of the National Colonization Society, at whose instigation free gifts of land, up till then given to settlers in New South Wales, were discontinued. In 1834 the South Australia Association was founded to establish a new colony on the principles that Wakefield had expounded, and in 1836 South Australia became a colony. Seeking a site for a capital, Surveyor Light, on board the *Rapid*, chose a spot on the river Torrens, naming it Adelaide, after Queen Adelaide, a lady of exemplary virtue and munificent charity. In 1851 Port Philip became the colony of Victoria, and in 1859 Queensland was formed. During the first fifty years of the century the population of Australia slowly grew with the arrival of all classes

of emigrants; scholars, professional men, sons of old British and Irish families, business men, farmers, artisans and labourers escaping from the confines of their narrow lives, generally to realize success in the land of opportunity under the sunny southern skies. The great gold discoveries in Victoria led to a large inflow of population, which since has steadily increased. It is still far less than Australia needs. In addition to her fertile lands she possesses enormous tracts of uncultivated lands, and even in her dry interior country far-reaching schemes of irrigation may yet turn her arid deserts into smiling gardens. The fiscal policy of the Commonwealth is protective, but substantial preferences are afforded to British manufactured goods. Its superficial area has been estimated at over three million square miles.

From Sydney we may steam across some 1,200 miles of water to New Zealand, where a permanent settlement first took place in 1815 on the Bay of Islands towards the north extremity of the North Island. In 1833 an authority was established, but subject to New South Wales; five years later, in addition to its Maori population, it contained about 2,000 white men, mostly of British origin. In 1837 the New Zealand Association was formed on the instigation of Wakefield; and in September, 1839, a body of emigrants sailed to New Zealand from Gravesend. Wellington, founded in 1839, four years later contained 4,000 inhabitants; new towns soon sprang up, such as New Plymouth, Taranaki and Nelson. In 1840 a lieutenant governor for New Zealand was appointed; in 1841 it became a separate colony, population continuing to increase almost entirely from the influx of British settlers. In 1847 the ship *John Wickliffe*, starting from Gravesend for Otago, carried on board some Scottish pioneers, Presbyterian Free Churchmen under their pastor, Thomas Burns, a nephew of Robert Burns the poet; these pioneers founded Dunedin. Canterbury and Christchurch were settled entirely through the instrumentality of the Church of England; a New Ulster and a New Munster testify to the Irish origin of the settlers. When the British first reached New Zealand they found a Maori population living in clans in possession, a people possessing a rich, sonorous language who were readily swayed by oratory and delighted in

lyric poetry, with a history rich in tradition. Trouble broke out between them and the settlers, which led to petty local warfare. In 1859 the Maori War began, which was a formidable struggle that with interludes lasted about ten years. After the war came universal forgiveness and universal forgetfulness, and Maoris and British have lived since then together on terms of equality on the North Island. As in the case of the other self-governing dominions, it is impossible in any small space to do justice to this almost pure British community. In size it is one-eighth less than the United Kingdom.

From New Zealand we may turn to another continent, that of South Africa, to which the Dutch colonists first sailed in 1652. The colony for about 140 years was under the administration of the Netherlands East India Company. Its population was then small, and only occasionally added to by emigrants from Holland and French Huguenots. Calvinism was early established as the State religion, and all services were held in accordance with the Dutch Reformed Church. Before the close of the eighteenth century toleration was granted to nearly all other religious sects. By 1820 complete freedom of worship for all religions was conceded. Christianity had been promulgated amongst the black races during the eighteenth century by the Moravian Brethren. In 1799 the London Missionary Society, founded five years before at Baker's Coffee House, Change Alley, London, took up the work of evangelization. In 1816 the Wesleyans followed, and the Glasgow Missionary Society five years later. The missionaries at first caused considerable disturbance among the colonists, as they considered that their teachings caused unrest among the natives. Nevertheless the Gospel was preached, and Scotland may point with pardonable pride to such great missionaries as Moffat and Livingstone. In the year 1791 the Netherlands East India Company was hopelessly bankrupt, the total European population at the Cape then numbering no more than 14,600 souls. Although the British were in possession by conquest, it was not surrendered by Holland, but ceded with Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice, British Guiana, for the sum of £6,000,000. For years the Dutch farmers,

the Boers, with the restless impulse of a pastoral people, had been in the habit of trekking or moving their flocks and herds from place to place within the Cape for better pasture and water. In 1836, having made a treaty with the Zulu chiefs by which they acquired a large tract of territory in Natal nearly equal in size to its present dimensions, they trekked thither. The treacherous massacre of some of them by the Zulus in 1838 led to a war in which the Zulus were defeated. The Boers, retiring to Port Natal, proclaimed it an independent republic. As it was the only port between Algoa and Delagoa Bay, the two old Portuguese places of call on the way to and from Goa, the ancient Portuguese capital of India, it became necessary for the Government of the Cape to interfere, and a force was dispatched to dislodge them. Too small to conquer, the troops took refuge behind earthworks and wagons and awaited reinforcements. On their arrival, after a gallant resistance the Boers retired across the Drakenberg Range, and in 1845 Natal was proclaimed a British colony. The first British settlers to arrive at Cape Colony landed at Port Elizabeth, 3,659 in all, between the March and October of 1820, from twenty-six ships, and formed part of the original settlement of Albany. Like the Pilgrim Fathers, they were all stout of heart, selected from 90,000 applicants at a time when distress was very acute in England. This was a British Government settlement. As other infant settlements, it required nursing, so the original Parliamentary grant of £50,000 was supplemented by a sum of £200,000, and further funds raised by subscription.

We may pass over the story of Kafir wars and the organization of British Kaffraria, which saw the rise of the flourishing port of East London, to note that before 1850 Cape Colony was developing along the southernmost shores of the Indian Ocean. A fresh Kafir war began in 1850 which dragged on till 1853. During this epoch of South African history a great torrent of black invaders had been for years pushing southwards from the interior, powerful tribes destroying others or driving the weaker on to their neighbours, a period when more than a million were exterminated. In 1877 a new Kafir war broke out even more

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formidable than its predecessor. At its close the fierce border struggles, after lasting for over a century, ended.

In the great trek of 1836 many Boers crossed the Orange River. In 1848 all the territory between this and the Vaal River was declared under British sovereignty. Soon after a war with the Boers led to the foundation of the Orange River Sovereignty, assent to which was given by the Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey, on the understanding that it should be left to manage its own affairs, provide for its own defence and the expenses of government. In 1852, at the Sand River, the Boer delegates from the Transvaal, where they had settled, negotiated the Sand River Convention, by which they were given the right to manage their own affairs without interference by the British Government, but slavery was prohibited. In 1854, by the Convention of Bloemfontein, the independence of the Orange River Sovereignty was conceded. British policy in South Africa was directed to stopping further expansion by retiring behind the Orange River. In 1867 diamonds were discovered not far from the Orange River, and in 1870 at Kimberley. The year before the latter discovery a treaty had been made with the Basutos by which they surrendered their country to the British Government: a portion was incorporated into the Orange Free State, the rest became British. Some claims which the Orange Free State raised to West Griqualand, where the diamonds had been found, were settled in 1876 by the payment of £90,000 to the Free State. In 1877 the Transvaal Republic was declared British territory. Two years later the Zulu War began, signalized by the disaster at Isandhlwana and the gallant defence of Rorke's Drift. In 1879 the Transvaal was declared a Crown Colony, a step followed in 1880 by the revolt of the Boers, the defeat of the British at Majuba Hill, the signing of an amnesty and the Convention of Pretoria, by which, whilst the royal suzerainty was preserved and the control of foreign affairs, practical independence was obtained by the Transvaal. Trouble, however, again showed itself between the Boer and the Zulu as Dutch farmers settled in Zululand, where they founded a new republic in August, 1884. In consequence, in the following December the British flag was hoisted at St. Lucia Bay. In 1886 this

republic was recognized, but subsequently it was incorporated in the Dutch republic; the remainder of Zululand was proclaimed British, and its frontier extended to the Portuguese boundary. Meanwhile two small Dutch republics had been founded in Bechuanaland, namely, Stellaland and Goshen. In 1884 the title of the South African Republic was conferred on the Transvaal State by the Convention of London. Further trouble arising from the republics in Bechuanaland, they were swept away and the boundary between Bechuanaland and the South African Republic outlined. A British Protectorate and a British colony were proclaimed, and the road made clear for the further development of Central Africa.

Shortly after the happening of these events gold was discovered in the Transvaal and attracted the eyes of Europe to the enormous possibilities of Africa. Two European countries began to direct their attention towards it—Germany and Portugal. Before 1848 a German Protectorate had been established over the coast of South-West Africa north of the Orange River. In 1890, by an Anglo-German agreement, its limits were defined. The next year the limits of Portugal in the west were settled by an Anglo-Portuguese agreement. The latter was imperative, for in 1889 the British South Africa Company had obtained a charter to operate in the country north of British Bechuanaland and to the north and west of the South African Republic. Respective spheres of influence were now laid down. The war with the Matabele and the occupation of Bulawayo are memorable incidents in the early history of the Chartered Company. In 1895 the colony of British Bechuanaland became part of Cape Colony. The Jamieson raid into the Transvaal, the Boer War, which ended in the surrender of the Boers and an ultimate grant of self-government to the Transvaal, paved the way for the Union of South Africa in 1909 by an Act of the British Parliament which unified South Africa—the great ideal of Cecil Rhodes that Boer and Britain, two races closely bound by old ties of friendship, should unite. Gold, precious stones, ostrich feathers, wool, coffee and fruits are some of the commodities that South Africa can pour into the common treasure-house of an Imperial

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Commonwealth. The grant of self-government to South Africa pacified her. In every case responsible government has been found the sovereign solvent for political and economical ills. In 1900 the colonies of Australia, all of which had previously obtained responsible government, voluntarily agreed upon federation, adopting as a title for their federation the Commonwealth of Australia. With the foundation of the Union of South Africa the closer union of the Empire became practicable.

We may now turn to India. In 1818, by the fall of Poona, the East India Company dominated as far as the basin of the Indus, although they exercised no sovereignty over the Punjab nor Scinde. Within these limits the whole of the basin of the Ganges and the coast districts on both sides of the peninsula had been acquired; the Mohammedan State of Mysore had fallen, and Oudh and Hyderabad became dependent allied states. The East India Company's dominions which had been preserved by Warren Hastings were further extended by Wellesley and the Marquis of Hastings. In 1825, when the first Burma war terminated, country was obtained across the Bay of Bengal. In 1838 it was decided to put a native sovereign under British protection upon the throne of Afghanistan, better to protect the North-West frontier; this policy led to the first Afghan war and subsequently to the evacuation of the country. British rule spread through the interior of India and Central India, known as Nagpur, in 1836. After the first Sikh war in 1845 the Punjab was brought under British rule, and Kashmir created an autonomous state. In 1849 the Company's dominions were in touch with Afghanistan, and in 1850, by the occupation of Sikkim, with Tibet and China. In 1831 it had been deprived of its trade monopoly, but notwithstanding the tide of conquest had swept on. How far the Company was responsible for these many wars may be a matter for controversy; often it was compelled to participate in disputes between states, and at other times it was obliged to defend itself against formidable combinations.

In 1857 a mutiny broke out among the Bengal native soldiers which aimed at the restoration of the Mogul Empire under the Mogul sovereign, almost the whole Bengal native

army taking part, but the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras were only slightly affected. The story of its suppression by the vigour and dash of Lawrence, Havelock, and Colin Campbell will for ever rank as a great episode in British history; six months from the outbreak a danger which had threatened the existence of the Empire was surmounted. In 1878 a second Afghan war broke out; in 1884 Upper Burma was annexed.

The rule of the British has been beneficial; as early as 1833 Lord Macaulay in the House of Commons recounted the many blessings that the old East India Company had brought to India from its first assumption of sovereignty. Before it began "every part of India from Tanjore to the Himalayas was laid under contribution by the Mahrattas; the people were ground down to the dust by the oppressor without and the oppressor within, by the robber from whom the Nabob was unable to protect them, by the Nabob who took whatever the robber had left to them. All the evils of despotism and all the evils of anarchy passed at once on that miserable race; they knew nothing of government but its exactions; desolation was in their imperial cities and famine all along the banks of their broad and redundant rivers. It seemed that a few more years would suffice to efface all traces of the opulence and civilization of an earlier age." From the first assumption of authority by the Company two generations had passed. But what had happened? A decomposed society had been reconstituted and "an Empire stronger and more closely knit together than that which Aurungzebe ruled" had been established. By the energy, genius and wisdom of its great governors the Company had secured an Empire which far transcended the dazzling dreams of the most imaginative person. In 1831 the trade monopoly of the Company ended, but its administrative functions remained. The trade, however, of Great Britain with China continued vested in its hands until April, 1834. China at this time was practically closed to the world, and such trade as she carried on with Great Britain was regulated by the Company and the Chinese Hong merchant, who were responsible for keeping order. On the cessation of the Company's power Lord Napier was dispatched by the British

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Government to open direct communication with the Chinese Government. At first the officials declined to receive him, but subsequently an understanding was arrived at that trade should be opened. Notwithstanding the fact that the import of opium into China was prohibited, the merchants brought it in, but they were compelled by the British superintendent to deliver it to the Chinese officials. An accidental fray between some British sailors and Chinese led to the outbreak of the first China war, which ended with the Treaty of Nanking, by the terms of which British subjects were permitted to trade with certain ports called treaty ports. In 1842 Hong Kong was added to the Empire.

Across the Bay of Bengal, where after the first Burmese war in 1826 the provinces of Aracan and Tenasserim had been gained, British rule continued to grow. The Treaty of 1826 was not observed by the Burmese, and Pegu was annexed after a second war in 1852. In November, 1885, a fresh quarrel breaking out led to the third Burmese war, after which Upper Burma and the State were annexed. In 1886 the whole of Upper Burma was brought under the control of the Indian Government. In 1879 British Baluchistan was added to the Empire, British and administered territory including tribal areas of 54,228 square miles in extent.

From Rangoon in British Burma the trading vessel may steam through the Straits of Malacca, passing the Federated Malay Straits and the Straits Settlements on its left and the island of Sumatra on its right. Penang, one of the Settlements, was ceded to the East India Company in 1786; coming under the control of the Government of India, it was transferred with Malacca and Singapore to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1867. It and Singapore, Malacca, Province Wellesley, and the Ding Dings now comprise the Straits Settlements. Their more intimate connection with the native states of the Malay Peninsula began in 1874; before there was anarchy. To the east of Sumatra lies the great island of Borneo, part of which, North Borneo, is administered by the Borneo Company under a Charter of 1881. In 1842 Sarawak was ceded to Sir James Brooke, offered by the native Sultan of Brunei, and—with an illiterate

servant, an interpreter, a doctor, and a brave Irishman—Sir James established efficient administration, good justice and suppressed piracy; a native saying ran that the son of Europe was the friend of the Dyaks. Other cessions largely extended the Rajah's territory, and it now comprises an area more than equal to Ireland and Wales together, with a population of some 600,000, composed of various races. The present Rajah, H.H. Charles Vyner Brooke, succeeded his father in 1917.

In the waters of the East the British Navy acts as the guardian of the peace for the benefit of all nations, majestic and wonderful. More wonderful still is the work of the British civilian officer, who a few short years before was a lad at school; amidst swarming native races he carries on untiringly the work of administration. No peoples pay tribute to Great Britain; all taxes that are raised are spent for the benefit of those on whom they are laid. Ancient civilizations are untouched: the Buddhist worships in his temple, the Mohammedan reads his Koran in peace; the West imperceptibly steals into the life of the East, gains much, but gives more.

On the way to and from Europe, India, Australia and New Zealand the great liners of all nations pass through the Suez Canal; the way is guarded by British territory. In 1839 Aden was taken, and eleven years later made a free port. Between 1882 and 1888 strips of land were purchased in Arabia. In 1905 a tract of land was obtained on the borders of the Red Sea by treaty, which included in the settlement Perim, obtained in 1839. Cyprus was acquired in 1914 after the outbreak of the war with Turkey; before then it was administered by Great Britain under a convention with Turkey in 1878. In 1884 British Somaliland was secured by treaty; in 1914 a Protectorate over Egypt was declared. The whole of the Red Sea policy may be summed up as a policy for securing a safe highway from Asia to Europe.

The greatest territorial expansion of the British Empire has occurred in Central Africa; the British East Africa Protectorate, Uganda, the Sudan, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, East and West Pondoland are acquisitions of the last forty years.

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On the west coast the British flag flies over South Nigeria, the Northern Nigerian Protectorate, the Gold Coast Colony, and the Northern Territories Protectorate. About 1830 the abandonment of the Gold Coast Settlement was suggested, and, following a war with the Ashantis in 1831, the forts were handed over to the London merchants. Liberty being given them to choose a governor, they elected Sir George Maclean, who with a hundred soldiers preserved the colony; concessions from natives have since enlarged its borders. Sierra Leone was purchased in 1788 to repatriate poor African negroes stranded in London. The Government of the Union of South Africa possesses great mandates over territories that were German before the war.

From the old Empire of the West Indies, Guiana and Honduras, let us pass to Oceania. Fiji was ceded by the natives in 1874; Papua is controlled by Australia. Between 1883 and 1906 many Pacific islands became British by treaty. A protectorate exists over the Tonga Islands. In 1915 the Gilbert and Ellice Islands were annexed. Australia and New Zealand now own many islands in the South Pacific; some acquired before the war, others occupied as mandatories.

If we survey the enormous extent of the Empire in Asia and Africa and the few white men who inhabit these continents, it will be seen that they might be immediately overwhelmed unless the native races had acquiesced in the beneficence of British rule. The wars of African tribes which exterminated each other are now ended. The forays of Arab slave raiders, who broke into villages and tore the children from their parents to sell them into slavery, have almost entirely ceased. Crimes of superstition and cruelty have fled like evil spirits at the dawn of day on the advent of good government. A better material life has been provided the negro by teaching him to utilize the resources of the country, and a market has been afforded him. A better spiritual life has been taught by those who carry Christianity to the far lands.

In 1850, when Great Britain looked out from her island windows on her Empire, it was sometimes with alarm. It continued to grow sometimes against her wishes. In South Africa it extended with the trek of the Boer, the journey of the missionary, the wanderings of the hunter, the discovery

of diamonds and gold, and lastly with the revival of the ancient merchant adventurers in the modern chartered company.

In 1854 she stood in arms with France in the snows of the Crimean War. Subsequently she proclaimed herself the apostle of peace, and reasoned she had found the way for herself by the institution of Free Trade. But there was no peace. The United States were rent by civil war, Denmark was dismembered, Austria defeated, and France assaulted. Instead of peace the modern military monster of blood and iron appeared, and a way to trade was suggested by force of arms. Meanwhile the expansion of the Empire led to a greatly increased commerce.

Great Britain has always clung closely to her ideals, and has never lost sight of the vision of a better humanity. A mighty mother of thought, her religious and social ideas have spread throughout the world. Throughout the ages she has possessed a great literature, and at no time has it been greater than during the nineteenth century. It is impossible to recount all her activities in trade, political and social reform. We may, however, briefly note some of them.

The sixteenth century witnessed the foundation of grammar schools; the eighteenth that of charity schools. The aim of the founders of the former was to afford the humblest scholar an opportunity of climbing the rungs of an educational ladder, the better to fit him to serve his God and his country. The aim of the latter was to teach the poor the mere elements of learning, reading, writing and arithmetic. They were discouraged from acquiring further knowledge, for by distinctions in dress and in other ways they were constantly reminded that they should be profoundly thankful. A change occurred at the close of the century. In 1780 Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, instituted the Sunday school, with the co-operation of Thomas Stock, the curate of a neighbouring parish, who had already started one at Ashbury, Berkshire. Six years later 200,000 children were being taught. The movement spread through Scotland, Ireland and the United States, and by 1831 there were about a million and a quarter scholars in England and 100,000

teachers. Whilst the Sunday school was teaching the child religious knowledge, a new movement sprang up, the object of which was to teach him general knowledge. Its standard-bearers were Joseph Lancaster, a young Quaker, and Dr. Andrew Bell. The former, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, collected nearly a thousand children in a school which he opened in the Borough of Southwark. "Better instructors and better instruction" was his cry. In 1808 the Lancastrian Society, known as the British and Foreign Society, and in 1811 the National Society for the Education of the People, were founded. The educational progress, however, was slow, notwithstanding the powerful advocacy of Lord Brougham, Tom Hughes and others, and the inauguration of mechanics' institutes. But the work received consistent support from the Church of England. In 1870 and 1872 the duty of providing elementary education in England and Scotland was recognized by the State, and education was made compulsory. It is impossible in a small compass to do justice to the labours of the enthusiastic men who advocated a system of national education. An Act has been recently passed which bids fair in the future to realize Cardinal Wolsey's dream of making Great Britain and Ireland a centre of learning.

Humanity, or, to use the old term, philanthropy, first displayed itself in the eighteenth century in an attempt to reform the condition of prisoners and jails. With the dawn of the nineteenth century it sought to ameliorate the harshness of the criminal law. In this work Sir Samuel Romilly, inspired by the teachings of Rousseau and Beccairo, led the way, and by successive steps the criminal law of England has been brought into accord with more enlightened and merciful judgment. Whilst punishing the criminal justly, according to his deserts, the reformers have never forgotten the duty of reforming him. The crimes of youth, hardly distinguishable from its follies, are gently punished. The First Offenders Act, the institution of a Children's Court, and the substitution of terms of probation for terms of imprisonment distinctly mark the difference between the present time and the callous brutality of the eighteenth century.

In the domain of political freedom the full rights of

citizenship have been granted to every adult, and the vote, with the right to sit in Parliament, has been conferred on married and single women. In industry the worker is now practically insured against all accidents in his employment under the Workmen's Compensation Acts and Employers' Liability Act, and against sickness and incapacity by a scheme of National Insurance, and an Act coping with unemployment. In the tangled mazes of social life the hand of the reformer is everywhere discernible. For the aged worker of scanty means a pension of 10s. a week is granted, which is his by right and not of charity. The growing conception of social duty, though it may seem to many still far below what it might be, is far higher than it was at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when sadness inspired the lines of Burns that "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn." The idea that the Commonwealth should exist for the common benefit is still making progress not only in the United Kingdom but in all the Dominions. In some of them the progress has been more marked than in the Mother Country. Religious freedom exists, neither the Roman Catholic nor the Nonconformist nor the Jew suffers under any disability. No test is required based on religious opinions interfering with a man's right of conscience. The conception of the social duty of the State to the citizen has broadened, and, though it may seem to many that it is still far below the standard that it should attain, not the desire but the lack of means stands in the way. If we look from the present heights backward we may see what a wide track has been cut through the decaying forests of the past, not only by the pioneers of social reform in the United Kingdom, but throughout the Dominions. Sixty years ago the drunken man reeled unashamed in the streets; the filthy by-lane rang with the yell of the trampled wife; typhus fever, typhoid and smallpox took their daily toll of the people. Millions of money have been spent in securing public health, better sanitation and pure water. The duration of life has been increased. Hospitals have been erected, and surgery and medicine have improved.

The blessings of civilization have come from the steady march of a self-disciplined community. They have not been

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confined to the United Kingdom, but have been diffused throughout the Empire.

Great Britain is the guardian of millions of coloured races. She was the first nation to put down slavery. The disruption of the Empire would be the greatest of calamities to the whole world. In the East, where piracy lurked, in the Straits of Malacca and the Chinese Seas, where the junk, like a poisonous serpent, darted on its murderous mission from the shores, the trader sails his ship unmolested. The Indian widow is no longer immolated on the funeral pyre of her husband; the negro no longer, steeped in black superstition, holds his horrid orgies in maddened carousal from the wine cup of the skull of some victim. British humanity has breathed over India and wafted away the poisonous miasmata of the jungle.

Tired with the weight, but yet not weary in spirit, the United Kingdom may turn to the Empire to help her to bear the work of defence. The British Commonwealth may merge into an Imperial Commonwealth—what shall it be? A just Empire framed for development not for defiance, with absolute liberty for the parts and unity for the whole: an Empire of great ideas, so that it may be said of it as was once said of England by one of her poets—

“England, none that is born thy son, and lives, by grace of thy
glory, free,
Lives and yearns not at heart and burns with hope to serve as he
worships thee;
None may sing thee: the sea-wind’s wing beats down our songs
as it hails the sea.”

The Armada. Swinburne.

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